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*A short grammar of Inanwatan,
an endangered language of the Bird's
Head of Papua, Indonesia*

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A short grammar of Inanwatan, an endangered language of the Bird's Head of Papua, Indonesia

Lourens de Vries



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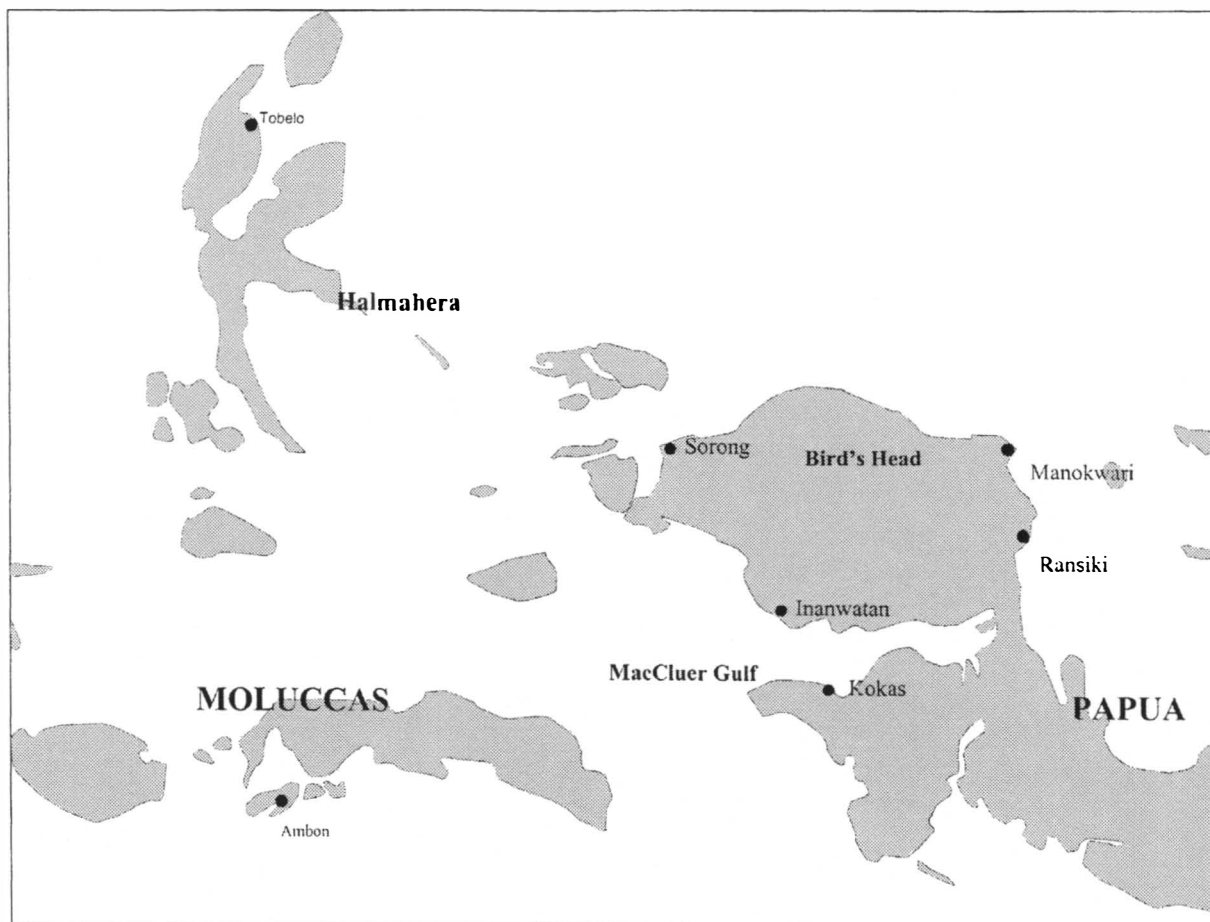
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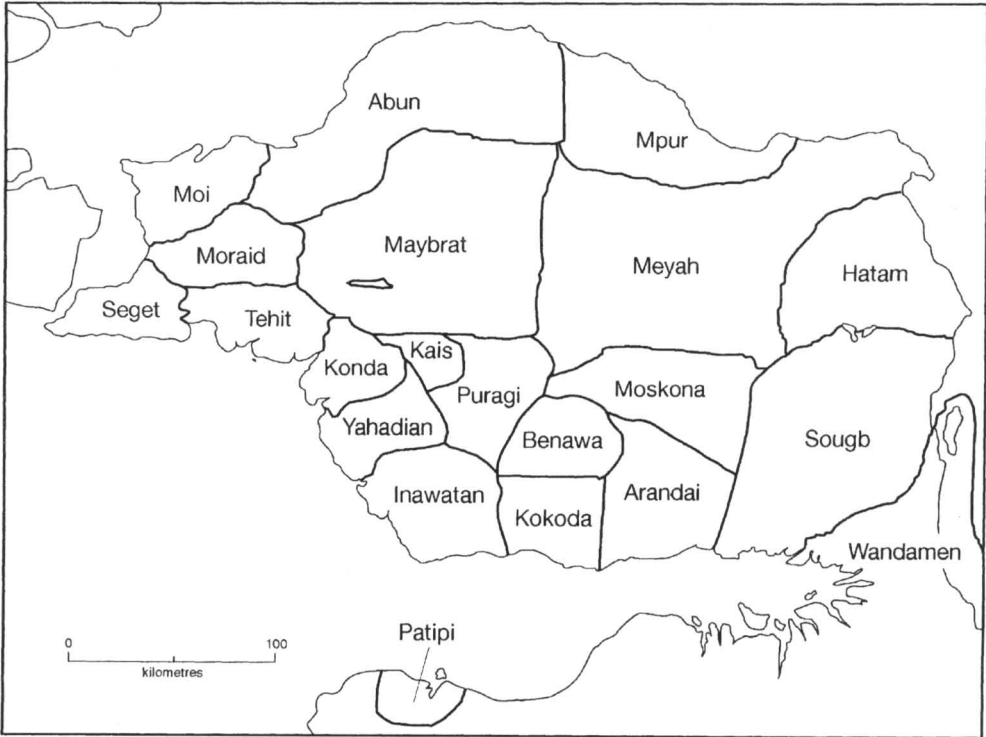
Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
+	utterance medial pause intonation (slight rise followed by pause)
#	utterance final intonation (falling)

ADH	adhortative	IND	Indonesian
ADJ	adjective	INTERJ	interjection
ADV	adverb	INTR	intransitive
ASS	associative	M	masculine
ATTR	attributive	N	noun
CAUS	causative	NUM	numeral
CF	counterfactual	NEG	negative
CIRC	circumstantial	O	object
CONN	connective	POSTP	postposition
CONJ	conjunction	PL	plural
COP	copula	PROP	proper name
DUR	durative	PREP	preposition
EMP	emphasis	Q	question-marker
EXC	exclusive	S	subject
F	feminine	SG	singular
FUT	future	SUB	subordinator
HAB	habitual	TOP	topic
IMP	imperative	TR	transitional sound
INC	inclusive	V	verb



Map 1 : The Bird's Head in Eastern Indonesia



Map 2: Languages of the Bird's Head

1 *Introduction*

Inanwatan (or Bira,¹ Suabo) is a Papuan language spoken on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula of Papua (Irian Jaya), Indonesia (see Maps). Voorhoeve (1975:440) and the survey reports of Gravelle (1986), Berry and Berry (1987) and Kempf (n.d.) contain some rudimentary information about the language.² See van Oosterhout (2002) for an ethnography of the Inanwatan community.

The Inanwatan language is spoken in three places. First, in the village Inanwatan on the south coast of the Bird's Head peninsula, where the Siganoi waters into the MacCluer Gulf. Inanwatan is the main village of the Inanwatan district (*Kecamatan Inanwatan*). Second, at the southern entrance of Sele Strait which separates Salawati island from the Bird's Head peninsula. And finally in the Jalan Ferry area of Sorong, the capital of the Sorong regency. These three communities maintain intensive contacts and I have not been able to detect dialectal differences when I visited those communities. The Sele Strait and Sorong communities consist of migrants from the village Inanwatan.

The Inanwatan language is dying out in a process of generational erosion. Generally speaking, only people older than around fifty speak and understand it well. For these older people, Inanwatan still is a major means of daily communication that they use alongside local Malay. Children of elementary school age as a rule do not know the Inanwatan language; they speak the local variety of Malay. Whereas the Inanwatan people as an ethnic group number about 3000, I estimate the number of people fluently speaking Inanwatan to be no higher than 800. The great majority of these 800 is also fluent in Malay. Since Malay functions both within the community and for external communication, Malay is the most important means of communication for the Inanwatan community. Very extensive borrowing from Malay and code mixing between Malay and Inanwatan occurs (see Appendix 2, Texts Part B, no. 2 and 3).

According to Voorhoeve (1975) the Inanwatan language belongs to the Inanwatan family, one of the sixty-odd families of Papuan languages. The Inanwatan family has two member languages, Inanwatan and Duriankari (also called Duriankere). It is very doubtful whether Duriankari, reported by Voorhoeve (1975:440) as spoken on the island of Duriankari at the southern entrance of Sele Strait, still exists. In one of the flood myths of the Inanwatan, the

¹ According to van Oosterhout (2002:175) some of her Inanwatan informants said they were the Bira people but she notes that the name Bira was also used for people living along the coast between Bintuni and Teminabuan. Suabo might be the name of an Inanwatan clan (*gobó*) or subclan (*faáwu*) although the name does not occur on the list of *gobó* of van Oosterhout (2002:173).

² This chapter is partly based on de Vries (1996, 1998).

Duriankari speakers are regarded as Inanwatan people who in ancient times were carried off to the Sele Strait area by a flood (see Texts, Part A, no.4)). When I visited the Inanwatan speaking community of the village Seget, situated at the southern entrance to the Sele Strait, in March 1994, the Inanwatan people there claimed that the Duriankari language was no longer used. Below we will discuss the possibility that Inanwatan is not an isolate but a member of the South Bird's Head family. The language, village and district name Inanwatan originates from a Patipi expression meaning 'sago only' or 'it is all sago' (*inan* 'sago' and *sewatan* 'one'). The immense sago swamps of the Inanwatan area inspired Patipi colonists to call the area Inanwatan ('it is all sago'). Patipi is a village on the south coast of the Bomberai peninsula, in the Onin area. Inanwatan people use the name Patipi also for the Austronesian language of the Bomberai peninsula known as Sekar, a dialect of the Onin language, spoken today in Kokas by about 600 persons. Some Inanwatan people called their language the *Irárowataro* language when talking to me,³ an adaptation of the word Inanwatan to the sound patterns of the Inanwatan language (see below) but *nidáibo* 'our language (voice)' is the normal way to refer to the language. The North-Moluccan Sultans of Tidore had their 'middle men' in the Onin area who established trade monopolies on the Bird's Head south coast, especially where major rivers watered into the MacCluer Gulf and the Seram Sea. These 'middle men' had the Malay title *raja* 'king'. There were *raja*'s in the villages Rumbati, Patipi, Ati-Ati and Fatagar and each *raja* had his own section of the Bird's Head south coast where he had some influence through representatives who settled near river mouths (see Vink 1932:41). The *raja* of Patipi sent representatives to the Siganoi river mouth where they engaged in slave trade with the Inanwatan people. To get slaves, the Inanwatan raided the interior but also neighbouring coastal peoples like the Yahadian. In exchange for the slaves, they received cloths, iron tools and weapons and guns from the Patipi 'middle men'. Although these *raja*'s of Patipi never established a regular government in the Inanwatan area, the Patipi colonists in Inanwatan married local women and Patipi words were borrowed by the Inanwatan language. To confirm the Patipi origin of the name Inanwatan and to investigate lexical links between Inanwatan and Patipi, an Austronesian language, I visited the Patipi speaking village Kokas in October 1995. Examples of Inanwatan words with Patipi origin: *náti* 'raja (king)' (>Patipi *nati*), *nóto* 'cloth; sarong' (>Patipi *not*), *pásao* 'rice' (>Patipi *pasa*), *sósorao* 'forked fishing spear' (>Patipi *sosona*).

Between the 16th and the end of the 19th century, Patipi (Onin, Sekar) had become an important lingua franca in the MacCluer Gulf area. Old Inanwatan people told me that the first protestant evangelists in Inanwatan (from 1908 on) used a mixture of Patipi and Malay in their sermons. The senior Dutch civil servant F.H. Dumas writes in his *Memorie van Overgave* (Memorandum of Conveyance) in 1911: 'De op Bira geplaatste ambtenaar E.A. Tanasale is [...] de Papoeataal van Onin, die ook daar verstaan wordt machtig.' (The civil servant E.A. Tanasale who has been placed in Bira knows the Papuan language of Onin which is also understood there.) With the arrival of the Dutch colonial administration in Inanwatan in 1908, the Patipi influence diminished, although the Dutch initially ruled the Inanwatan area through appointed Patipi *raja* who were called *raja-commissie* (*kówisi* in the Inanwatan language).

The relationship with Onin and Patipi is strongly reflected in the oral tradition of the Inanwatan people. For example, I recorded a story about Namora, the first *raja* of

³ Possibly reflecting my use of the Malay term *bahasa Inanwatan*.

Inanwatan who came from Patipi (see de Vries 2000 and Appendix 2 Texts, A 1). He became the father of the Inanwatan *fam* Nawora (see below for the notion *fam*).

Whereas the Austronesian language Patipi functioned as the primary contact and trade language in the MacCluer Gulf area in pre-European times, after the arrival of the Dutch around 1900 Moluccan Malay took over that role. Of course, for contacts with peoples outside the MacCluer Gulf area, Malay had already established itself as the interregional lingua franca in the MacCluer Gulf area long before the Dutch established government posts there. The regional variety of Malay spoken on the Bird's Head south coast still has Moluccan Malay characteristics. In fact, a range of varieties of Malay is used, from formal varieties approximating standard Indonesian to very informal varieties with strong Moluccan and Bazaar Malay features.

1.1 Research framework and data collection

Data for this book were collected in the framework of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research program The Irian Jaya Studies: a programme for interdisciplinary research (ISIR) and further analyzed as part of the Spinoza (NWO) research program Lexicon and Syntax.

Inanwatan was chosen within the ISIR research program to represent the languages of the southern Bird's Head. This whole area is linguistically unknown and a data oriented study of at least one language was seen to be important for a general picture of Papuan languages. Indeed Inanwatan and other south Bird's Head languages that I surveyed turned out to be typologically distinct in interesting ways from both the languages of the Bird's Head and Trans New Guinea languages (see §1.6 and §1.7).

The relevance of the Inanwatan data for the Spinoza program of Pieter Muysken that focuses on language contact, resides in the fact that most Inanwatan speakers constantly rely on two languages, Malay and Inanwatan, to construct their messages. Intense bilingualism in situations of generational erosion creates specific field linguistic problems, in the collection, transcription and analysis of the data (see §1.2).

I recorded and transcribed word lists and oral texts in Inanwatan in the first three months of 1994 and during three months in 1995. Since I had only six months of exposure to the language, I do not pretend to present more than a preliminary survey of some major patterns of the language as they could be observed in the word lists and texts that I collected.

There is a clear age and gender bias in the Inanwatan data since the majority of my informants were older, male speakers. Male informants were easier to get and easier to work with for cultural reasons. The age bias follows from the fact that only older people are fluent speakers of the Inanwatan language and still use it as their first language in daily life. The Inanwatan community was very supportive of my research and many people volunteered to tell stories, take me along on trips and to their houses knowing that I was recording all that was said during those visits and trips.

Although the description is mostly based on natural speech that I recorded and transcribed, I also made use of data elicited in Malay. These data are marked by (el.) after the reference number. I used direct elicitation only where I judged the chance for interference from the Malay stimuli to be relatively small but still there is no doubt a Malay bias in these elicited data.

1.2 Transcribing and analyzing speech in bilingual communities

Linguists collecting and transcribing vernacular speech in bilingual communities of Indonesia will increasingly observe Malay elements in their transcribed texts. This creates special difficulties for the field linguist, for example how to separate Malayicized vernacular from Malay in the transcriptions. Consider the following examples from three texts recorded in Inanwatan. Bold is used in this book for all Malay elements in the data, irrespective of their status as borrowed elements or code mixes.

- (1.1) *Máiwa owóíwo-qe + atá-ata + sīkorao-wai búka-wé-ge-re*
 next there-TOP stay-stay school-this.F open-3.S-do-PAST
sementara-go Mugúro-wo + máíwa-rári sīkorao-wo ré-ge-re +
 temporary-CIRC Mugúro-in next-I school-in 1SG-do-PAST
Mugúro-wo + gurú-i-sai + Elias + Watimena + qeqído
 Mugúro-in teacher-M-this.M Elias Watimena not
gíre-y-áigo + áwoqe pinda-ré-ge-re sīkorao-wai + Qódeqari-wai. #
 long-TR-not again move-1SG-do-PAST school-this.F Odeqari-to
 And those staying there opened a temporary school and I followed that school
 in Mugur, the teacher in Mugur was Elias Watimena, but after a short time I
 moved again to the school in Odeqari.

- (1.2) a. Murray:

Agó síbidaro méqaro?
 but church house
 But the church building?

- b. Yunus:

A suda ya kunsistori terus plafon terus mimbari
 ah already yes consistory next ceiling next pulpit
móteqogeritau panggung owóí-qiare.
 pulpit pulpit that.F.SG-again(?)
 Ah, finished yes, the consistory and the ceiling and the pulpit also

- c. Murray:

Agu-áwoqe qái-de-ta-sa?
 and-again follow-cross-go-FUT
 And you want to go there again?

- d. Yunus:

Iyó rencana begitu tapi ísido-wo nárido kerédidao
 yes plan thus but empty-be.3SG.F my work
e-wai hanya karena bu dia sendiri disana
 ATTR-this.F just because older.brother he himself there

mungkin kekurangan kekurangan owóíwo-qe é-ra ne-qéro-sa.
 possibly shortage shortage there-TOP 3SG-for 1SG.S-saw-FUT
 Yes, that is the plan but my work must be finished, just because my older brother
 he is there on his own and maybe there are shortages, I am going to see there
 for him.

- (1.3) *duaberas + duabelas Desember*
 twelve twelve December
 twelve December

- (1.4) *Biasa mé-rego-rita dua ratus limapuluh + kalau dua*
 usually 3.S-put.down-HAB two hundred fifty if two
ratus niwapuluh pí-piso qeqído + sidáoqo. #
 hundred fifty money not kain.blok
 They usually pay two hundred and fifty, if they do not have two hundred
 fifty, (they pay in) kain blok.

There are two types of Malay forms in such transcriptions of bilingual speech as in (1.1)–(1.4), forms that conform to the patterns of regional Malay spoken in the Bird's Head such as *sementara* and *Desember*. And forms that violate those patterns such as *duaberas* in (1.3) and *síkorao-wai* in (1.1). In (1.4) the Malay word *lima* 'five' occurs in adapted (*niwa*) and non-adapted form (*lima*) within one utterance. Since the deviations from the regional Malay standards follow from adaptations of these forms in the direction of the vernacular language, in this case Inanwatan, I will call forms such as *duaberas*, *niwapuru*, *síkorao-wai* **adapted forms** and forms like *duabelas*, *limapulu*, *sekola* **non-adapted forms**. Of course, regional Malay varieties are oral, non-standardized varieties with a lot of variation, not only horizontally, from place to place, but also vertically because regional Malay is a sociolect continuum with basolects, mesolects and acrolects. It is normal for texts in local Malay to mix elements from basolects, mesolects and acrolects. So, the norms are rather flexible. Nevertheless, forms like *duaberas*, *niwapuru*, *síkorao-wai* are recognized by Inanwatan speakers as 'bad' Malay when these forms occur in Malay-only genres such as sermons in church.

'Pure' regional Malay (without code mixing and without Inanwatan loans) is used in church, school and government contexts and as an interethnic lingua franca (see Appendix 2 Texts, Part C for a text in this local Malay). Relatively 'pure' Inanwatan (without code mixing, but with some Malay loans) is used in certain genres of the oral tradition like the *túgarido* genre (clan (*gobó*) owned heirloom stories, see for example Appendix 2, Texts, Part A, texts 1 and 2). Continuous, intensive Malay/Inanwatan mixing is used within the community as the default means of communication, exemplified by texts 2 and 3 of Part B, Appendix 2, Texts).

It is to be expected that the Inanwatan morphosyntax is not immune from influence from the morphosyntax of Malay but since we do not have knowledge of older stages in the development of Inanwatan, such influence is hard to assess. For example, nowadays SVO constituent order occurs in frequent variation with SOV order in Inanwatan clauses but we do not know what the clause order was before contact with Malay. But it is clear that not only lexical words but also complete classes of grammatical words or function words have been borrowed from Malay, for example discourse conjunctions (like *baru* and *jadi*, see §4.3.2) and numerals (see §3.7 and §4.4.4). The inclusive-exclusive distinction in first person plural

pronouns and verbs (see Chapter 3) very likely derives from contact with Austronesian languages like Malay and Sekar since only non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea bordering on Austronesian languages or in close contact with them have the inclusive-exclusive opposition.

1.3 Types of adaptation occurring in Malay elements

(a) Phonemic and allophonic adaptation:

Inanwatan has nasal phonemes with oral allophones. The Inanwatan phoneme /n/ has three allophones [n], [r] and [ɾ]. The allophone [n] occurs word-initially and [r/ɾ] word-medially. The flapped vibrant [ɾ] freely varies with [r], the rolled vibrant, the latter being the most frequent realization. Examples: ['nɛɾɔ] 'name', ['a-rɛɾɔ] 'your name', ['nira] 'day' ['nira-rira] 'each day'. The Inanwatan phoneme /m/ has three allophones [m], [w] and [β]. The allophone [m] occurs word-initially, [w] medially adjacent to back vowels (i.e. followed and/or preceded by [o], [u] or [ɔ]) and [β] elsewhere. Examples: ['muwɛɾɔ] 'rivers'; ['naβɛ] 'me (object)'.

Now in foreign words, word-medial [m] may be pronounced as [w] or [β] and the initial [w] of source forms as [m]. Examples: Dutch *emmer* 'bucket' is adapted to ['ɛβɛɾɔ]. Indonesian *wakil* 'deputy' is adapted to ['makiri] 'deputy headman (*raja*)', Indonesian *kacamata* 'glasses' is adapted to ['karɔwato]; Indonesian *limapuluh* 'fifty' to Inanwatan ['niβapuru]. Dutch *commissie*, a term used for the Patipi headmen appointed by the Dutch administration to rule Inanwatan, is adapted to ['kɔwisi]. Medial [n] is adapted to [r/ɾ] in foreign words. For example, the Patipi word *inanwatan* is adapted both to the word structure prohibiting final C and CC clusters (>/inánowatano/, by vowel insertions) and to the allophonic patterns of the Inanwatan language ([i'rarɔwatarɔ]. Malay /l/ is replaced by Inanwatan /n/ with its oral allophones [r/ɾ], for example Malay *wakil* 'deputy' is adapted to ['makiri] 'deputy headman'.

(b) Phonotactic adaptation

Inanwatan phonotaxis does not allow CC clusters and final C. Vowel insertion and consonant deletion are employed to adapt foreign words to Inanwatan phonotactics, for example *pótoroti* 'pencil' is the adapted form of Dutch *potlood*).

(c) Adaptation in word stress and intonation contours

Inanwatan has unpredictable, lexical word stress. Quite often the word stress of foreign words changes in borrowed words, e.g. regional Malay *pandíta*>Inanwatan *pádítæ* '(male) minister'. When two Malay utterances are linked by recapitulative strategies reflecting 'Papuan' tail-head linkages, the intonation contour is adapted towards the typical fall-rise-pause pattern associated with 'Papuan' tail-head linkage. See §4.3.1 for Inanwatan recapitulative linkage strategies.

(d) Semantic adaptation

Meanings of foreign words may change, for example Malay *kapal* means 'non-native boat' in both its adapted form (*káparo*) and non-adapted form. Because of the gender system

of Inanwatan, gender-neutral foreign nouns referring to animate entities develop gender-specific meanings e.g. Malay *pandíta* 'minister' > Inanwatan *páditae* 'male minister'.

(e) Morphological adaptation

Morphological adaptation can be illustrated with the integration of nouns and verbs in the Inanwatan morphology.

Gender in Inanwatan nouns is marked by the last vowel, with nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/, /e/) being masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /o/, /u/ and /a/) feminine. In a minority of nouns, gender has a semantic basis (male and female). Now borrowed nouns denoting humans have /e/ or /i/ added when they denote males and /o/ when they denote females, for example Malay *guru* 'teacher', has the Inanwatan forms *gúruí* '(male) teacher', *gúruo* '(female) teacher'. Inanimate borrowed nouns are assigned a gender on the basis of their final vowel, if they end in a vowel. When they end in a consonant, they are assigned a gender by the addition of /o/ or /e, i/. Examples: *éwero* 'bucket' (<Dutch *emmer*), *kómpasi* 'compass' (<Dutch *kompas*), *káparo* 'ship' (<Malay *kapal*), *pótoroti* 'pencil' (<Dutch *potlood*), *pensili* (<Malay *pensil* 'pencil'), *listriki* 'electricity' (<Malay *listrik*), *tabáqido* 'tobacco' (<Dutch *tabak*). The addition of vowels is done arbitrarily, that is, I have not (yet) been able to find a semantic or phonetic base for the gender-integration of such non-human nouns.

Inanwatan has a complex verb morphology. Verbs are inflected for subject person and number, object person and number, tense, mood, aspect, negation and gender. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes, with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes. To integrate foreign verbs into this system, Malay verbs (like *buka* 'to open') are productively combined with the verb *ge-* 'to do' in complex phrasal verbs (see §4.2.1). Phonologically, the Malay verb and the verb *ge-* with its prefixes and suffixes are integrated under one stress contour and the first /m/ of the subject prefix /me-/ is always realised by the intervocalic allophone [w]. Thus *buka-wé-ge-re* (open-3.S-take-PAST) instead of *buka mé-ge-re*. Another way to integrate Malay verbs found in the text is to adapt a Malay stem phonologically and then attach affixes to it as in *me-súsa-re* 'they lamented, wailed' (from regional Malay *bersusa* 'to lament, to wail').

These phonological and morphological adaptation processes have drastic effects on the form of Malay items. In the speech of bilingual members of the Inanwatan community one can find hundreds of pairs of words with a Malay item alongside its adapted Inanwatan counterpart. Examples: *síkorao/sekolah* 'school', *táu-go/tahun* 'year' (in which *-go* is the Inanwatan circumstantial postposition), *kéredidao/kerja* 'work', *káparo/kapal* 'ship', *íko-/ikut* 'to follow someone'. Many of these adapted forms have been around for a long time in the community and have a stable, conventional form. Although adaptation occurs very frequently not every Malay element occurs in two forms (adapted and non-adapted). Some words, like *sementara* 'temporary' in (1.1), always seem to have the same non-adapted form, even when they are integrated within Inanwatan morphology.

1.4 Adaptation in borrowing and in code mixing

Adaptation of Malay forms may take place in the context of **borrowing**, when Malay elements become part of the Inanwatan language in a diachronic process on the level of the language system, or in the context of **interference**, a synchronic process on the level of

language use, when bilingual Inanwatan people speak Malay with Inanwatan patterns influencing the form of Malay elements. Because of the grand scale code mixing and borrowing the boundaries between Malay and Inanwatan are often unclear in the texts that form the basis for the description of Inanwatan.

When adaptation occurs in borrowing, the adaptation is aimed at fully and smoothly integrating the Malay element into the Inanwatan language and the adapted form conforms to the rules of the Inanwatan language. For example *síkorao-wai* in (1.1) is good Inanwatan. When adaptation occurs in the context of interference, the adapted forms remain part of Malay and may be perceived as violating the patterns of (regional) Malay. For example, *duaberas* in (1.3) is 'bad' Malay and followed by a repair.

When Malay is the only language used in a communicative situation, for example in church or when talking to non-Inanwatan people, adaptation is much more marked and much less accepted than when Malay forms are adapted in code mixing, when speakers such as Yunus in (1.2) use both Malay and Inanwatan to construct their messages to other Inanwatan bilinguals such as Murray in (1.2).

The negative attitudes of the community towards adaptation of Malay forms in Malay-only genres prevent most types of interferential adaptation in these situations. The adaptation that I noticed is at higher levels of grammar: the prosodic level and the levels of discourse and surface syntax. For example, certain discursive strategies such as tail-head linkage (see §4.3.1) are used also in local Malay and the typical fall (tail)-rise plus slowing down/pause phenomena (head) intonation contour of Inanwatan tail-head linkage is clearly audible in the Malay tail-head linkages. Lower level adaptations (phonotactic, morphological and phonemic adaptations of the type *kapal>káparo*) hardly occur or are followed by repairs in Malay-only genres.

Muysken (2000:3) distinguishes three types of code mixing: 'insertion of material from one language into a structure from the other language, *alternation* between structures from languages and *congruent lexicalization* of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure'. In alternating Inanwatan-Malay code mixing, levels of interferential adaptation are comparable to the very low levels in Malay-only contexts. Compare the Malay stretches in examples (1.2b) and (1.2d) above such as *hanya karena bu dia sendiri disana mungkin kekurangan kekurangan*.

Although Malay words may be inserted without any adaptation, in insertional code mixing levels of adaptation are much higher than in alternating code mixing and adaptation occurs on phonemic, phonotactic and prosodic levels. Therefore the distinction between insertional code mixes and borrowings is often difficult to make on the basis of adaptation criteria. Consider:

- (1.5) *Máiwa* + *laboratorium kéredidau ré-ge-re ewáíwa* + *tígo*
 and laboratory work ISG.S-do-PAST and so
mó-qe pénsio ré-ge-re + órmati-go me-régo-re +
 then-TOP retirement ISG-do-PAST honour-with 3.S-put-PAST
táu-go-wai + *seribusembilanratusdelapanpuluhempat. #*
 year-CIRC-this.F 1984
 Next I worked in the lab until I retired with honour in 1984.

The foreign word *laboratorium* is inserted without adaptation, it is not part of the Inanwatan vocabulary and clearly a case of insertional code mixing. But *órmati*, an adaptation from

Malay *hormat* inserted in the slot *NP-go* could be both a Malay insertional code mix showing interferential adaptation or a borrowed word with resulting adaptation.

One of the most frequently used mixing strategies employs the verb *ge-* 'to do'. When this occurs, the Malay material preceding the verb *ge-* may remain completely unadapted or exhibit considerable adaptation. Consider the following examples:

- (1.6) a. *Máiwa kéredidau ré-ge-re + táu-go tujuhpulu-go +*
 next work 1SG.S-do-PAST year-CIRC 70-CIRC
- b. *náwe áangka-wé-ge-re áwoqe + kepala Desa-go +*
 me appoint-3.S-do-PAST again head Desa-CIRC
- c. *sampai táu-go seribusembilanratustujuhpuhduha +*
 until year-CIRC 1972
- d. *áwoqe na-rérowo mé-re-re + né-i-de⁴ +*
 again my-body 3.S-call-PAST 1SG.S-descend-PAST
- e. *kepala Kampong e + Desa berhenti dulu ré-ge-re +*
 head village eh Desa stop first 1SG.S-do-PAST
- f. *sikorao ré-ge-re áwoqe + né-ta-re*
 school 1SG.S-do-PAST again 1SG.S-go-PAST
- g. *prakteki ré-ge-re Soru laboratorium Rumah Sakit*
 internship 1SG.S-do-PAST Sorong laboratory Hospital

Umum Sorong. #

General Sorong

And I worked and in 1970 they appointed me head of the village until in 1972 I received a call again and I stepped down from the office of village head in order to go to school again and to be an intern in the laboratory of the General Hospital in Sorong.

In example (1.6) the verb *ge-* 'to do' occurs five times. It occurs with the adapted nouns *kéredidau* 'work' in (1.6a), *sikorao* 'school' in (1.6f) and *prakteki* 'practice' in (1.6g), with the unadapted Malay alternating code mix *kepala Kampong e Desa berhenti dulu* in (1.6e) and with the Malay loan verb *angka-* 'to appoint' in (1.6b). The verb *ge-* can be used as an alternation device, for example *kepala Kampong e Desa berhenti dulu ré-ge-re* in (1.6e) and as an insertion device, for example *prakteki ré-ge-re* in (1.6g). When used as an insertion device, *ge-* forms complex phrasal verbs with the preceding Malay words (see §4.2.1). Again the boundary between insertional code mixing with *ge-* and borrowing is very hard to draw.

Malay words may be borrowed without adaptation. For example the loan conjunctions *terus, jadi, baru, suda(h), atau, tapi, dan* have various discourse connective functions in Inanwatan and are never adapted. But most borrowed elements from open lexical classes undergo adaptations.

Inanwatan speakers call the process of code mixing *lompat*, a Malay verb meaning 'to jump' and they usually have no problems separating 'speaking Inanwatan' from 'speaking Malay'. For example when asked about utterances as in (1.2d) they will say that Yunus

⁴ *-de* is an allomorph of the Past suffix *-re* occurring after stem-final /i/ (see §3.4.2.1).

speaks Malay when he says *iyó rencana begitu tapi* and Inanwatan when he says *nárido kéredidaó e-wai*.

Summarizing, adaptation phenomena occur both in borrowing and in interference and Malay words can be borrowed without adaptation, so adaptation cannot be easily applied as a criterion to separate Malay elements in code mixes (speaking Malay) from Malay borrowings (speaking Inanwatan). Adaptation is strongly disfavoured in Malay-only contexts, disfavoured in Malay/Inanwatan alternating code mixing and quite accepted in insertional code mixing. Only certain types of adaptation ‘survive’ in Malay-only genres and in alternating code mixing (mostly prosodic and discursive adaptation). In borrowing the tendency is the opposite: adaptation is favoured and expected, and occurs at all levels. Because of pairs like *síkorao/sekolah* ‘school’, *táugo/tahun* ‘year’, *káparo/kapal* ‘ship’, *iko-/ikut* ‘to follow’, phonotactic, morphological and semantic adaptation became associated for Inanwatan speakers with ‘speaking Inanwatan’. And absence of adaptation (or mild presence of prosodic and discursive adaptation) is associated with ‘speaking Malay’. Such structural criteria are combined by native speakers with genre criteria to decide whether someone is speaking Malay or Inanwatan. For example, adapted forms of Malay occurring through interference during a government meeting (such as *niwapuru* ‘fifty’ instead of *limapulu*) will be seen as (bad) Malay because that is a Malay-only setting. The same adapted forms when occurring in a *úgarido* story, an Inanwatan genre of texts, will be seen as good Inanwatan (for example adapted borrowed numerals).

1.5 Language death and ethnic identity in the Inanwatan community

The Inanwatan people realize that their language is dying. This saddens older people but most young people do not seem to care all that much. Inanwatan is a language they associate with the past and a language they cannot use in cities like Sorong, Manokwari and Jayapura where they would like to live, a language they cannot use in the work environments they would like to be in. But the older people also accept the way things are going. These attitudes to language death by generational erosion can be understood better if we realize the relatively modest place the Inanwatan language has in the way the Inanwatan people construct their ethnic identity.

An Inanwatan person derives his sense of identity primarily from the *gobó* and *fáwu* he or she was born in. The noun *gobó* is used for bodies of water (sea; river; lake; tributary), for localized descent groups (clans) living on ancestral lands surrounding those bodies of water and finally for the ancestral lands themselves. A *gobó* consists of (ideally) four *fam* (Malay) or *fáawu* (adapted Inanwatan form) with each *fam* descending from a different son of the ancestor pair (van Oosterhout 2002:95–101). The ancestral lands of the *gobó* cannot be sold; only rights to use the land can be sold, but the land itself is the inalienable possession of the clan. Clan membership is defined in patrilineal terms. The land claims of the clan, the origins of the clan, the places where the clan has lived, rights the clan has acquired through warfare or alliances, all these crucial things are expressed in the oral tradition of the clan, the stories of the clan. These stories are ‘owned’ by the clan and people who are not member of the clan should not know them, certainly not in the sacred versions with the real names of the ancestors, and are not allowed to tell them. Also within the *gobó* there are differences in terms of access to the sacred stories and to the ‘knowledge’ embodied in them. The secrets are only safe with a small group of elders, belonging to certain *fam* within the *gobó*. These

are considered to be sufficiently 'dry' and 'cooled' to be able to deal with the heating powers of 'knowledge' (van Oosterhout 2002:101).

Interestingly, in these clan owned stories, the ancestors sometimes do not speak Inanwatan but Puragi, another South-Bird's Head family language, spoken in the area of the Upper Metamani river; this area is seen as the area of origin of various groups of people who nowadays speak various languages like Inanwatan and Kokoda. When Inanwatan people visit the upper Metamani area, the use of the Inanwatan language is taboo (Dianne van Oosterhout, pers. comm.). In Inanwatan oral stories, when ancestors sing magic chants, often the words of those chants are Puragi (see for example Appendix 2, Part A, text 3, no.5). When I asked people about this, some said that the ancestors spoke Puragi.

The fact that Inanwatan is not considered the language of the ancestors, at least not by all, is significant to determine the place of the Inanwatan language in the identity of Inanwatan people. And the oral tradition of the clan, containing its history and rights, is transmitted in both the Inanwatan and the Malay language, and can be 'stolen' in both forms. The 'knowledge' embodied in the oral traditions is what counts and not the linguistic form in which this 'knowledge' is formulated (see van Oosterhout 2002:99 for the Inanwatan concept of 'knowledge' and its relation to clan owned stories and claims to ancestral lands).

It is clear that the Inanwatan language has a place in the Inanwatan ethnic identity but the notion of *gobó* (*gobó* land, *gobó* flesh and blood, *gobó* knowledge) occupies a much more central place in the way the Inanwatan define themselves than the Inanwatan language. Notice that the Inanwatan have generic words and proper names for social groups like clans (*gobó*) and subclans (*fáawu*) but have no word or name for Inanwatan as an ethnolinguistic group (van Oosterhout 2002:175) nor for Inanwatan as a language. For speakers of Inanwatan, Inanwatan is a place name used by outsiders to label what they see as a 'tribe', *suku* or 'ethnolinguistic group'. When Inanwatan define themselves in other terms than those of *gobó* and *fáawu*, they 'skip' the level of the 'ethnolinguistic group' and switch to the Malay political-religious discourse (*kitorang Kristen* 'we are Christians', *kitorang Papua* 'we are Papuans').

1.6 The linguistic position of the Inanwatan language

As far as links to Papuan languages are concerned, to the east and north of Inanwatan, the Puragi language is spoken in the villages Saga, Puragi, Bedare and Isogo. Puragi belongs to the South Bird's Head family to which Arandai also belongs (Voorhoeve 1985). Yahadian, of the Konda-Yahadian family, spoken in the villages Mugim and Yahadian, is the western neighbour of the Inanwatan language. In initial survey work, I found only 8% possible lexical correspondences between Yahadian and Inanwatan (16 lexical correspondences in 202 items) whereas I found 25% lexical correspondences between Inanwatan and Puragi (52 lexical correspondences in 199 items). With Kokoda, also of the South Bird Head family and spoken to the east of Puragi, Inanwatan has 41 lexical correspondences in 202 items (20%).

Structurally, Inanwatan shows many correspondences with Puragi and Kokoda in phonology and morphology whereas Inanwatan is strikingly different from Yahadian in these regards. In Kokoda and Puragi, for example, a masculine-feminine gender distinction is a pervasive feature of the morphosyntax affecting 3SG verb forms, adjectives, demonstratives and nouns. Their gender systems resemble the Inanwatan system very closely, with back

vowels associated with the feminine gender and with plurality and front vowels with the masculine gender. Example (1.7) is from Kokoda, (1.8) from Puragi, (1.9) from Inanwatan and (1.10) from Yahadian:

Kokoda:

(1.7)(el.) *Móma-e dānes-i watak-aya.*
 person-M that-M bad-M
 That man is bad.

Móma dānes-o watak-omo.
 person.F that-F bad-F
 That woman is bad.

Puragi:

(1.8)(el.) *Rabín-i dá-i-qa badá-i-to.*
 man-M that-M-TOP bad-M-be.M
 That man is bad.

Ráw-o dá-u-qa badá-o-mo.
 woman-F that-F-TOP bad-F-be.F
 That woman is bad.

Inanwatan:

(1.9)(el.) *Mésida-e e-sái badá-e-so.*
 person-M ATTR-this.M.SG bad-M-be.3SG.M
 This man is bad.

Mésida-o e-wai badá-o-wo.
 person-F ATTR-this.F.SG bad-F-be.3SG.F
 This woman is bad.

Yahadian:

(1.10)(el.) *Orame ye nanáigine.*
 man this bad
 This man is bad.

Wa ye nanáigine.
 woman this bad
 This woman is bad.

On the other hand, the Kokoda and Puragi verb paradigms in my survey data have only suffixes and I found no subject and object prefixes as we find in Inanwatan. Further research of these South Bird's Head languages is badly needed to establish their relationship to Inanwatan.

Concerning lexical links with other Papuan language families, Voorhoeve (1975:443, 445) gives average cognation percentages of the Inanwatan family with other Papuan language families: for example, 4.7% with the Central Bird's Head family, 5.5% with the North Bird's Head family, 8.1% with the West Bird's Head family, 7.5% with the Marind and Asmat-Kamoro families, 7.7% with the Ok family, 5.5 with the Dani family, 7.2% with the Awyu family, 9.5% with the Kolopom family and 4.3% with the Sentani family.

These percentages are all below 10% and point in all directions: to Bird's Head language families, to typical Trans New Guinea language families like the Awyu and to aberrant

language families of South Irian Jaya like the Marind. Explaining the lexical links with Bird's Head languages as borrowings, Voorhoeve (1975) classified Inanwatan as a Trans New Guinea language.

At that time, very little structural information on the Inanwatan family was available and the Marind languages were, with some hesitation, considered as Trans New Guinea languages. The structural information on Inanwatan available to Voorhoeve (1975), the pronoun system, pointed into the direction of the Trans New Guinea Phylum. The Inanwatan pronouns of first person have initial /n/, those of second person an initial vowel and plural forms have more fronted or higher vowels than those of singular forms. According to Voorhoeve (1975:444), such pronoun sets occur widespread in South West New Guinea and the western highlands. As in other coastal areas of New Guinea with intensive contact with Austronesian languages, Inanwatan distinguishes exclusive and inclusive first person plural pronouns.

The typology and relative complexity of the morphology of Inanwatan sets it clearly apart from the simple verb morphologies of the other Bird's Head languages (see Reesink, ed. 1996, 2000, 2002). But the type of morphosyntax of Inanwatan is very different from the typical Trans New Guinea morphosyntax of mainland Papuan language families as described by McElhanon, Voorhoeve and Wurm (1975:299–322). Inanwatan has no clause chaining with medial verbs, no serial verbs and no switch-reference. Instead, Inanwatan coordinates fully inflected verbs. Its verb morphology also deviates strongly with its subject and object prefixation. The presence of subject and object prefixes in the verb (s-o-v) is rare in Papuan languages, it occurs in only three of the over sixty families of Papuan languages, namely Marind family (Drabbe 1955), Northern Halmahera family (van Baarda 1891) and South Bird's Head family. Gender pervades the Inanwatan language in ways unknown to Trans New Guinea languages.

Summarizing, Inanwatan most probably is a member of the South Bird's Head family of Papuan languages. Its lexical links point in all directions. Structurally, Inanwatan is different from both Bird's Head languages and languages of the Trans New Guinea group.

1.7 Inanwatan and the Marind languages

When we compare the structural data on Inanwatan with what is known of the Marind stock (Marind, Yaqai and Boazi families, Drabbe 1955), Inanwatan seems to fit the typological picture of these Marind languages, both in broad outline and in details of its morphology.

The Marind languages are spoken in the central south coast area of New Guinea. It has been recognized for a long time that the Marind languages display a number of striking characteristics, aberrant from the point of view of the Trans New Guinea grouping of languages as McElhanon, Voorhoeve and Wurm (1975) noticed. The Marind languages combine the following characteristics:

(1.11) the typology of Marind languages:

- (i) the verb has a subject prefix followed by an object prefix in a basic SOV clause;
- (ii) there are suppletive verb stems to indicate plurality of the subject (and sometimes of the object);

- (iii) there are (often elaborate) gender systems with concord phenomena and with front vowels indicating masculine and back vowels indicating feminine gender;
- (iv) there is coordination of fully inflected verbs instead of clause chaining with medial verbs, and no or marginal presence of serial verbs

Consider the following Marind data from Drabbe (1955). Examples (1.12) and (1.13) show the gender system, (1.14–1.16) show subject and object prefixes and (1.17) shows suppletive plural stems of verbs:

- (1.12) *E-pe anem e-pe akek ka.*
 M-the man M-the light.M COP
 The man is light.
- (1.13) *U-pe anum u-pe akuk ka.*
 F-the woman F-the light.F COP
 The woman is light.
- (1.14) *Nak-a-indesor.*
 1SG.S-2SG.O-yell
 I yelled to you
- (1.15) *O-n-indesor.*
 2SG.S-1SG.O-yell
 You yelled to me.
- (1.16) *A-na-sib-et.*
 3SG.M.S-1SG.O-hit-FUT
 He will hit me.
- (1.17) *kahek* 'to ascend' (singular subject)
kapet 'to ascend' (plural subject)
umak 'to run' (singular subject)
bamet 'to run' (plural subject)
takoi 'to fell' (singular object)
arok 'to fell' (plural object)

The south coast area where Marind languages are spoken has a long history of large-scale, frequent headhunting. Knauft (1993) describes how this region placed particular cultural emphasis on the creation of life-power through ritual sexuality and on the taking of life-power by severing enemy heads. Throughout the region, ethnographers found cosmological links between the fertility power of ritual sexuality and that of headhunting. Knauft (1993) points out how the swampy coastal plains, the many rivers, the shallow coastal waters, full of fish, and the abundance of storable and transportable sago created the ecological conditions for large scale, frequent military operations by the Marind (and other groups) which found their cultural basis in this headhunting–fertility complex.

Van Baal (1966) describes the Marind headhunting practices in detail. Marind groups used to organise their headhunting expeditions every year. The Marind war parties were large. We know this because of confrontations with colonial officers who wrote reports at the end of the 19th century. In 1884, for example, Captain Strachan discovered 1200 Marind in 35 war canoes across the international border some 300 kilometres east of the Marind home

bases (Knauft 1993:156). In 1896, Lieutenant William MacGregor encountered 75 manned Marind war canoes and captured 48 canoes, which contained dozens of bundles of sago each weighing around twelve pounds. This party numbered 1500 or more persons, 250 kilometres away from their home settlements (van Baal 1966:713).

Crucial for the linguistic diffusion of Marind features was the gradual establishment by headhunting groups of corridors where groups who had been victims in the past, became allies, in the sense that they allowed headhunting parties to cross their territories to reach groups even further away. The Marind exported cultural characteristics and linguistic features along these corridors. Van Baal (1984) describes the situation as follows:

Marind-Anim culture was an expanding culture, spreading from the coast to the interior, and along the coast from east to west. (van Baal 1984:129)

In this historical context, it is not surprising to find some of the Marind stock characteristics in Trans-Fly stock and Ok languages to the east and north of the Marind area. Southern Kati, for example, is a Lowland Ok language showing on the one hand Trans New Guinea features like clause chaining with medial verbs, and subject suffixation but on the other hand some of the Marind features are present (Voorhoeve 1975:381) like object prefixation with some verbs, a few verbs having suppletive plural stems and a two-gender distinction in nouns and 3SG personal pronouns, with a back vowel (F) and front vowel (M) opposition (for example, *ye* 'he', *yu* 'she'). The Ok languages Telefol and Ninggerum have similar patterns. Many Trans-Fly stock languages also display one or more of the Marind features. For example, object prefixes are widespread in the Trans-Fly stock but on the other hand subject suffixes are very common there (see Wurm 1975:323–344).

Whereas Trans-Fly and Ok languages show the four Marind typological characteristics of (1.11) in an unsystematic fashion, Inanwatan has them all: the Inanwatan data (1.18) and (1.19) show the gender system, (1.20) shows subject and object prefixes, (1.21) shows coordination of fully inflected verbs, (1.22) is an example of a Past verb paradigm with a suppletive verb stem indicating plurality:

- (1.18)(el.) *Mésida-e e-sái* *íragir-i badá-e-so*.
 person-M ATTR-this.M.SG body-M bad-M-be.3SG.M
 This man has leprosy (lit. (his) body is bad).
- (1.19)(el.) *Mésida-o e-wái* *íragir-o badá-o-wo*.
 person-F ATTR-this.F.SG body-F bad-F-be.3SG.F
 This woman has leprosy.
- (1.20)(el.) *Iwáu-go* *sugére né-i-we-re*.
 esterday-CIRC sago 1SG.S-2PL.O-give-PAST
 Yesterday I gave you sago.
- (1.21)(el.) *Nó-opo-be-re* *né-ri-be-re* *né-re-be*.
 1SG.S-take.a.bath-PRES-and 1SG.S-eat-PRES-and 1SG.S-sleep-PRES
 I took a bath, ate and slept.⁵

⁵ The Present tense is used for events taking place at the moment of utterance or before that moment but after yesterday's sunset.

(1.22)	1SG	<i>nó-uwu-ge</i>	'I sat'
	2SG	<i>ó-uwu-ge</i>	
	3SG.M	<i>mó-uwu-i</i>	
	3SG.F	<i>mó-uwu-ge</i>	
	1PL.EX	<i>nigé-te-re</i>	
	2PL/1PL.IN	<i>gé-te-re</i>	
	3PL	<i>mé-te-re</i>	

Compare the Inanwatan data (1.18–1.22) with the Marind data (1.12–1.17) above. In the gender systems of both languages, the back vowel front vowel opposition is used to indicate feminine (back vowel: Marind: /u/, Inanwatan /o/) and masculine (front vowel: Marind /e, i/, Inanwatan /e, i/). Inanwatan has a phonotactic rule that words cannot end in a consonant, compare:

(1.23)	Inanwatan :	<i>mésidae</i>	'man'	<i>mésidao</i>	'woman'
	Marind :	<i>anem</i>	'man'	<i>anum</i>	'woman'

The shared gender morphemes (/i, e/ for masculine and /u, o/ for feminine) in Inanwatan and Marind are significant since these are rare outside the Marind stock: as we saw above, the back and front vowel opposition is found in Ok languages in personal pronouns (e.g. Ninggerum, Southern Kati), north of the Marind, one of their traditional headhunting areas (Knauft 1993:161). The Sepik and Torricelli groups also have gender systems but gender is not indicated by vowel oppositions, with an occasional exception in personal pronouns such as the Iwam (Sepik) pronouns *si* 'he' and *sa* 'she' which have a vowel opposition between front and mid vowels (Laycock & Z'Graggen 1975:742).

Inanwatan is spoken in the western part of the New Guinea south coast whereas the Marind languages are spoken in the central part of the New Guinea south coast area. In between, we mostly find Asmat-Kamoro languages and some Austronesian languages. For future research, I would like to hypothesize the idea that Inanwatan is a western member of the Marind stock. We would have to assume that Inanwatan became separated from the other Marind languages by the arrival of Trans New Guinea groups such as the Asmat-Kamoro, probably from the mountains, and Austronesian groups like the Patipi, probably over sea. Admittedly, the average lexical correspondence percentage of 7.5% between Inanwatan and Marind is rather low. Wurm (1975) takes 12% as the boundary below which inclusion in a stock of language families is not defensible. However, if we take structural considerations into account, the similarity between Inanwatan and the Marind languages could well be too great to be coincidental. Notice that the gender and subject/object cross-referencing morphology of Inanwatan and Marind is very similar, both in the morphological pattern and in the grammatical morphemes. Furthermore, the diagnostic value of the shared gender morphology (front vowels=M, back vowels=F) and the verbal pattern (s-o-verb) is rather high since both are rare in New Guinea. Foley (1986:138), for example, states: 'Marind is the only Papuan language I know which consistently exhibits A-U-V.'

1.8 Three important lexical domains

To facilitate understanding of the Inanwatan texts presented in this book, I discuss three cultural and lexical domains that play a crucial role in those texts.

1.8.1 Sago and sago related terminology

The Inanwatan people are a typical south coast lowland community that subsists from sago and fish. The Inanwatan distinguish at least eight sub species of sago palm trees (*suqí* 'sago tree'). Dependent on the sub-species, sago trees take ten to twelve years to mature. As far as the production of sago flour is concerned, just before flowering (when the amount of starch in the sago tree is maximal), the men cut (*suqí u-* 'to cut down the sago tree') the tree after which they cut the trunk in a few big pieces called *sowóto* 'trunk part'. An average *sowóto* trunk part measures 2 metre. The number of people available to work determines the size and number of the trunk parts. Then the bark of the trunk parts must be removed (*sowóto íqore-* 'to remove bark from trunk parts') and the trunk parts opened.

Next, the women, sometimes assisted by the men, pound (*qáa-* 'to pound sago') the sago-containing fibres (*mówuqo*) in order to be removed from the tree. The instrument used to pound the sago is called *máqo*. Once removed from the tree, the sago-containing fibres are called *gúgo*.

Next, they put the pounded fibers in bags (*tébo*) made from woody shafts of sago leaves and transport them from the place where the sago palm was felled to a nearby spot where there is stream or well. At that place the washing out of the sago flour takes place. To do this the women set up a structure consisting of (at least) two connected woody shafts of sago leaves. At the connection points, filters of hairy upper parts of sago leaf shaft (*múgo*) or a part of an old shirt (also called *múgo*) are placed. In the first shaft, called *qáro*, the mixture of water and fibers is pressed and kneaded by the hands of the women (*gúgo noi-* 'to knead sago fibers'). The fibers remain in the first higher shaft while the suspension of sago flour flows through the *múgo* filter into the second lower shaft, called *bówo*, at the end of which sago fibers (that have been washed out already) are placed in such a way that the water slowly runs away whereas the sago flour settles.

The resulting lumps of sago flour, ready to be baked, are called *suqére*. When grilled in the fire and wrapped in sago leaves, the sago is called *soqówo*. When prepared as porridge, it is called *dáu* 'sago-porridge'. When prepared in a clay form called *porna* in Local Malay, the sago is called *sáqeraro*.

Every step in this harvesting process is hard work but in ancient times, according to the story of sago tree, the parrot and the cockatoo (see Appendix 2, Part A, Text 5) the whole process was an easy job: they just pricked a round of holes in the soft sago tree causing the sago tree (*suqó*) to fall after which lumps of ready-to-bake sago (*suqére*) could straightaway be cut out of the felled tree. The two labor-intensive steps of pounding and kneading were not needed then. The cockatoo, after a violent argument with the red parrot, introduced the pounding and the kneading of the sago and thus made life much harder for the Inanwatan people.

The sago palm is also used for many other things the Inanwatan need. The sago leaves (*qéro* 'sago leaf; arrow'; *qérero* 'sago leaves; roof') are used to make arrows and roofs. The ribs of the sago leaves (*tító* 'sago rib; wall') are used for the walls of houses (Indonesian *gaba-gaba*). The bark of woodened sago ribs is used to make floor mats (*qipáiro*). The young sago leaves are used to make skirts (*qarábeqo*) for the women. These skirts are used when traditional dances are performed.

1.8.2 Canoes, movement, motion verbs

Since the jungle is flooded with every high tide, canoes (*éro*) are essential means of transport in the Inanwatan area. Canoes are built from *térido* wood (local Malay: *pohon katapan*), *bíturo* wood (local Malay: *pohon bitanggur*) or *naqíro* wood (local Malay: *pohon gerupa*). Most canoes use bamboo outriggers (*gáta*) for stability in the sometimes rough MacCluer Gulf. Canoes without outrigger are called *éro búrido* (naked canoe). The pieces of wood connecting the canoe and the outriggers are called *múawero*. The prow or head is called *qíbo* and the stern *túgo*. The Inanwatan use peddles (*nóqaro*) and sails (*qaqé*).

Apart from *se-* (PL: *neqa-*) 'to walk; to go'; 'to travel over land' and *no-* 'to peddle; to travel by ship', Inanwatan has 13 motion verbs. Three of them are generic verbs of motion: *mo-* 'to come' (towards deictic centre), *eta-* 'to go' (away from deictic centre), *ede-* 'to pass (the deictic centre)'. Two are verbs of crossing (river, road, sea): *de-* 'to go across' and *de-wo-* 'to come across', a compound of *de-* and the generic verb *mo-*. The remaining verbs of motions are these:

<i>noe-</i>	'to go down/leave' (from house, to the river, downriver)
<i>nowo-</i>	'to come down' (from house, to the river, downriver)
<i>owe/me-</i>	(IMP stem) 'to go upriver'
<i>uwo/mouwo-</i>	(IMP stem) 'to come upriver'
<i>nawe-</i>	'to go up (over land)'
<i>nawo-</i>	'to come up (over land); to enter (house)'
<i>i-</i>	'to go down (vertically)'
<i>nae-</i>	'to go up (vertically)' (Malay < <i>naik</i> ?)

In verbs of coming towards deictic centre *mo-* is recognizable but in the other motion verbs no synchronic subanalysis possible; the 'go' verbs (away from deictic centre) all end in *e*.

Whereas there are two specific river verbs for movement upstream (*owe-/me-* (IMP stem) 'to go upriver' and *uwo-/mouwo-* (IMP stem) 'to come upriver'), the verbs for movement downstream are also used for movements down over land or down from the house.

1.8.3 Kinship

Inanwatan kinship and social organization is discussed by van Oosterhout (2002). Here I give some morphological properties of kinship nouns.

Kinship nouns belong to the class of inalienable nouns (see §3.3). Inalienable nouns take possessive prefixes. In Table 1 they are given with the first person singular possessive prefix *na-* 'my' (with vowel elision *n-*).

Kinship nouns occur in a male and a female form, e.g. *nowáre* 'my grandson', *nowáro* 'my granddaughter', with stem final front vowels (/i, e/) indicating male referents and back vowels /o, u/ female referents.

A number of kinship nouns have irregular plural forms while others use the proximate plural demonstrative clitic *-wasu* to mark plurality.

The parent terms *náqide* 'my father' and *néqido* 'my mother' are also used by many speakers as the Inanwatan equivalents of the Malay terms *bapak* and *ibu*. So the actual usage of these kinship terms is complex and co-determined by regional Malay patterns.

Table 1 presents forms and ranges of reference of kinship nouns found in elicited, very incomplete data. M=mother, F=father, S=sister, B=brother, H=husband, W=wife, e=elder, y=young, s=son, d=daughter, ♂=male ego, ♀=female ego.

Table 1: Kinship nouns

Term	Gloss	Ranges of reference in data	Plural form
<i>náqide</i>	'father'	F, FB, FSH	<i>náqidewasu</i>
<i>néqido</i>	'mother'	M, MS, FS, FBW	<i>néqidowasu</i>
<i>naqotoqóware</i>	'son'	s, ♀ Ss, ♂ Bs	<i>naqáwere</i>
<i>naqotoqówaro</i>	'daughter'	d, ♀ Sd, ♂ Bd	<i>naqáwere</i>
<i>nówi</i>	'maternal uncle'	MB	<i>nótatabo</i>
<i>nídaqo</i>	'wife of maternal uncle'	MBW	<i>nídaqowasu</i>
<i>néwi</i>	'son of maternal uncle'	MBs, FSs, ♀ Bs	<i>nasobebedabo</i>
<i>náwo</i>	'maternal uncle's son's wife'	MBsW	<i>neqówo</i>
<i>násobedi</i>	'son of maternal uncle'	MBs, FSs, HFSs	<i>násobébedabo</i>
<i>násobedo</i>	'daughter of maternal uncle'	MBd, FSd	<i>násobébedabo</i>
<i>náwori(náwoe)</i>	'cross nephew'	♂ Ss, HSs	<i>náorabo</i>
<i>náworo(náoro)</i>	'cross nephew'	♂ Sd, ♂ SsW	<i>náororo</i>
<i>nadóri-ara</i> ⁶	'elder brother'	eB	<i>nárubu</i>
<i>nadóru-ara</i>	'elder sister'	eS	<i>nárubu</i>
<i>namároqe</i>	'younger brother'	yB, HyB	<i>mároqo</i>
<i>namároqo</i>	'younger sister'	yS, yBW, WyS	<i>mároqo</i>
<i>nátaturi</i>	'grandfather'	MF, FF, FMB, HFFSs, FFSs	<i>nátatabo</i>
<i>nawére</i>	'grandfather'	MF, FF, FMB, HFFSs, FFSs	<i>nátatabo</i>
<i>nátato</i>	'grandmother'	MM, FM	<i>nátatabo</i>
<i>nawéro</i>	'grandmother'	MM, FM	<i>nátatabo</i>
<i>nowáre</i>	'grandson'	ss, ds, Sss, MBss	<i>nówaqoqo</i>
<i>naqegóware</i>	'grandson'	ss, ds, Sss, MBss	<i>nówaqoqo</i>
<i>nowáro</i>	'granddaughter'	sd, dd, Bdd, MBsd	<i>nówaqoqo</i>
<i>naqegówaro</i>	'granddaughter'	sd, dd, Bdd, MBsd	<i>nówaqoqo</i>
<i>nérawe</i>	'husband's father'	HF, HFB	<i>nerásaru</i>
<i>nérawo</i>	'husband's mother'	HM	
<i>néqotato</i>	'daughter in law'	sW, BsW	
<i>nérage</i>	'wife's father/son in law'	dH, WF, BdH, SH, WB	<i>nerásaru</i>
<i>nérago</i>	'wife's mother'	WM	

⁶ The meaning of the morpheme *-ara* is not clear.

2 *Phonology*

This chapter presents Inanwatan phonemes, allophones and orthography. Sound processes occurring in morpheme sequencing are discussed in Chapter 3, Morphology. Inanwatan has eleven consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. Stress is phonemic. Inanwatan syllables can be subsumed under one type of syllable: (C)V(V). Neither word-final consonants nor consonant clusters occur.

2.1 Consonants

The consonant system is rather simple, with four points of articulation and only three manner classes: plosives, fricatives and nasals. The nasals are striking because of their phonetically wide range of allophones, for example /m/ is realized as [m], [β] and [w]. Chart of consonant phonemes (with allophones in brackets):

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p [p] b [b]	t [t] d [d]	k [k] g [g]	ʔ [ʔ]
Fricatives	ɸ [ɸ, pɸ]	s [s, ts]		
Nasals	m [m, β, w]	n [n, r, ɾ]		

2.1.1 Nasals

The phoneme /n/ has three allophones [n], [r] and [ɾ]. The allophone [n] occurs word-initially and [r/ɾ] word-medially. The flapped vibrant [ɾ] freely varies with [r], the rolled vibrant, the latter being the most frequent realization. Consider the following examples.

- (2.1) /néno/ ['nɛɾɔ] name
(2.2) /áнено/ ['a-rɛɾɔ] your name
(2.3) /nína/ ['nira] day
(2.4) /nína-nina/ ['nira-rira] each day

Medial /n/ is pronounced as [r/ɾ] in borrowed words. For example, the Patipi word *inanwatan* is adapted both to the word structure prohibiting final C and CC clusters (>/inánowatano/, by vowel insertions) and to the allophonic patterns of the Inanwatan language ([i'rarɔwatarɔ].

Since Inanwatan has no /l/, Indonesian /l/ is replaced by Inanwatan /n/, medially pronounced as [r/r], word-initially pronounced as [n], for example ['niβapuru] 'fifty' from Indonesian *limapuluh*.

Finally, an extremely frequent phenomenon is variation of [n] and [r/r] word-initially conditioned by slow and fast speech. In citation forms and in slow pronunciation as in (2.5), word-initial [n] never varies with [r/r], but in connected speech where initial /n/ is followed and immediately preceded by vowels, the phoneme is often realized as [r/r] as in (2.6):

(2.5) /múmuno napago/ ['muwuro#^hnapago] all rivers

(2.6) /múmuno napago/ ['muwuro#^hrapago] all rivers

The nasal phoneme /m/ has three allophones [m], [w] and [β]. The allophone [m] occurs word-initially, [w] medially adjacent to back vowels (i.e. followed and/or preceded by [o], [u] or [ɑ]) and [β] elsewhere. Examples: ['muwuro] 'rivers'; ['naβe] 'me (object)'.

In borrowed words, the medial [m] of source forms is pronounced as [w] or [β] and the initial [w] of source forms as [m]. Examples: Dutch *emmer* 'pail' is adapted to ['εβεro] 'pail'. Indonesian *wakil* 'deputy' is adapted to ['makiri] 'deputy headman (*raja*)', Indonesian *kaca mata* 'glasses' is adapted to ['karowato]; Indonesian *limapuluh* 'fifty' to Inanwatan ['niβapuru]. Dutch *commissie*, a term used for the Patipi headmen appointed by the Dutch administration to rule Inanwatan, is adapted to ['kowiwi]. In morpheme sequencing, the allophonic relationship between [m] and [w/β] also surfaces:

(2.7) /míni/ ['miri] stomach

(2.8) /námini/ ['na-βiri] my stomach

(2.9) /ámini/ ['a-βiri] your stomach

(2.10) /mádido/ ['madido] shoulder

(2.11) /namádido/ [na-βadido] my shoulder

(2.12) /másu/ ['masu] they/them

(2.13) /meʔáʔabi-masu/ [meʔaʔabi-βasu] he bit them

Finally, word-initially [m] and [w/β] are in variation, conditioned by slow and fast speech; since all words end in a vowel in Inanwatan, in fast speech word-initial /m/ is followed and preceded by vowel sounds and accordingly receives a [w/β] realization:

(2.14) /omóimo métene/ [ɔ'wɔiwɔ 'weteɾe] They were there.

Uttered in isolation or in slow speech, the initial /m/ is realized as [m]:

(2.15) /omóimo métene/ [ɔ'wɔiwɔ 'meteɾe] They were there.

Since none of the allophones of the phonemes /m/ and /n/ seems to have the widest distribution or highest frequency, the choice of the nasal realizations as basic allophone is rather arbitrary. When discussing the orthography with Inanwatan people, they insisted on distinguishing the oral allophones (represented in the spelling by w, r) from the nasal ones (m, n). This was so important to them that they asked me to follow their orthographic proposal in all my publications.

Having discussed the allophones of /m/ and /n/, we give minimal pairs for these phonemes in (2.16).

(2.16)	/m/-/b/:	/bómo/	place for sago pounding	/bóbo/	pus
		/mógo/	jungle	/bógo/	sugar cane
		/mído/	sand	/bído/	pig
	/m/-/φ/:	/úmo/	road	/úφo/	firestone
		/mánido/	sago species	/φánido/	fish species
	/m/-/n/	/ména/	give!	/néna/	sleep!
		/míni/	belly	/níni/	eating
	/n/-/d/:	/dáne/	edible fern	/náne/	my
		/dómo/	short	/nómo/	flying fox

2.1.2 The glottal stop

The /ʔ/ functions as a consonant phoneme in Inanwatan. Evidence for this comes from contrasts in identical or near-identical environments and from vowel elision phenomena.

To start with the latter, consider the following data:

- (2.17) /ʔépe/ [ʔεpe] foot
 (2.18) /épe/ [εpe] tooth
 (2.19) /ná-ʔepe/ [ʔna-ʔεpe] my foot
 (2.20) /n-épe/ [ʔn-εpe] my tooth

In (2.20), vowel elision takes place: the final vowel of the first singular possessive prefix /na-/ ‘my’ is elided before the initial vowel of /épe/ ‘tooth’. But in (2.19) the glottal stop functions as an initial consonant and blocks vowel elision.

There is contrastive evidence for /ʔ/ in (2.21). Since /k/ is a rather rare sound (the majority of occurrences is in borrowed words, see below), we have not yet found an example of contrast in identical environment for /k/-/ʔ/.

- | | | | | | |
|--------|----------|----------|---------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| (2.21) | /ʔ/-/k/: | /ʔópona/ | don’t! | /kóponau/ | civil servant |
| | | /ʔéneno/ | thatched roof | /kénano/ | sea turtle |
| | /ʔ/-/p/: | /ʔíʔo/ | new | /ʔípo/ | small stick; splinter |
| | | /túʔo/ | stern post | /túgo/ | fishing basket |
| | /ʔ/-/g/: | /gúʔo/ | egg | /gúgo/ | (pounded) sago fibres |
| | | /móʔo/ | moon | /mógo/ | jungle |
| | | /ʔáʔo/ | room | /ʔáto/ | mouse |
| | /ʔ/-/t/: | /méʔene/ | they spoke | /métene/ | they sat |
| | | /ʔono/ | bite (N) | /íbono/ | hearth |
| | /ʔ/-/d/: | /médo/ | snake | /méʔo/ | wood |

2.1.3 Other voiceless plosives: /p/, /t/ and /k/

/p/: [p], a voiceless, bilabial plosive. Minimal pairs for /p/ in (2.22):

- (2.22) /p/-/?/: see (2.21)
 /p/-/b/: /opóna/ take a bathe! /obóna/ hit!
 /p/-/ɸ/: /úpo/ live coal /úɸo/ firestone
 /pípišo/ money /ɸíɸesai/ Fife

/t/: [t], a voiceless alveolar plosive. Minimal pairs for /t/:

- (2.23) /t/-/d/: /tómo/ true /dómo/ short
 /néto/ sago grub /nédo/ shrimp species
 /tóʔe/ bone /dóʔe/ come on!
 /t/-/?/: see (2.21)
 /t/-/s/: /náto/ wound /náso/ my head
 /t/-/n/: /néto/ sago grub /néno/ name
 /óto/ leech /óno/ vagina

/k/: [k], a voiceless velar plosive. The phoneme /k/ is not very frequent; it might be a loan phoneme since most words containing /k/ are (suspected) borrowings. Examples:

- (2.24) /kápano/ boat (<IND *kapal*)
 /kábaso/ thread (<?)
 /kénano/ sea turtle (<IND *kura-kura*)
 /kóponido/ (colonial) government (<IND *kompēni*<DUTCH *compagnie*)
 /kánido/ cooking pot (<?)
 /mokáʔono/ cup (<IND *mangkok*)
 /kóponi/ suitcase (<IND *kopor*<DUTCH *koffer*)
 /kóɸido/ coffee (<IND *kopi*<DUTCH *koffie*)
 /kánomato/ glasses (<IND *kacamata*)
 /mánakamo/ sweet potatoes (<?)

Minimal pairs for /k/:

- (2.25) /k/-/g/: /míki/ hawk; eagle /mígi/ (male)breast
 /k/-/?/: see (2.21)

2.1.4 Voiced plosives: /b/, /d/ and /g/

/b/: [b], a voiced bilabial plosive. Minimal pairs for /b/-/p/ and for /b/-/ɸ/ were given in (2.22) and for /b/-/m/ in (2.16).

/d/: [d], a voiced alveolar plosive. Minimal pairs for /d/-/t/ were given in (2.23), for /d/-/n/ in (2.16) and for /d/-/?/ in (2.21).

/g/: [g], a voiced velar plosive. Minimal pairs for /g/-/k/ were given in (2.25) and for /g/-/?/ in (2.21).

2.1.5 Fricatives

/ɸ/: [ɸ], a rather strong bilabial voiceless fricative. Examples: [i'ɸou] 'breadfruit', [gɛraɸɔ] 'song'; [pɸ], a bilabial affricate varying with [ɸ] word-initially. Example: [pɸɔwɔ] 'breadfruit tree', [i'ɸɔwɔ] 'breadfruit tree'.

Minimal pairs for /f/:

- (2.26) /ɸ/-/p/: see (2.22)
 /ɸ/-/m/: see (2.16)

/s/: [s], an alveolar voiceless fricative; word-initially, the affricate [ts] varies with [s]. Examples: [aɛ] 'head', [sa:] 'water', [tsa:] 'water'.

Minimal pairs for /s/:

- (2.27) /s/-/t/: see (2.23)

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 General remarks

Inanwatan has these vowel phonemes:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i [i]		u [u]
Half-close	e [ɛ, e]		o [ɔ, o]
Open		a [a, ʌ]	

All vowels may occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. Vowels in stressed syllables tend to be lengthened. The vowels /e/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables of the CV type may show some reduction in the direction of the [ə] but this is rather rare, even in fast colloquial talk. Examples: [sɪdɛɔ] 'parrot', [sɪdɛɔ] 'parrot'; [nə'gawɔ] 'my chin', [nə'gawɔ] 'my chin'. Vowels in unstressed initial syllables of the V type show reduction in the form of devoicing, sometimes leading to completely devoiced vowels. Example: [ɔ'rɔwɔ] 'spear', [ø'rɔwɔ] 'spear'.

Sequences of two vowel phonemes frequently occur in Inanwatan. Examples:

- (2.28) /óena/ [ɔɛra] bind!
 /?anáa/ [ʔa'ruɔ] crab
 /áo/ [ʔuɔ] wood
 /gámao/ [gawuɔ] thumb

In fast speech, the second vowel of the sequence, syllabic in slower pronunciation, may become non-syllabic:

- (2.29) ['na.i.ti] I (slow speech, CV.V.CV)
 ['nai.ti] I (fast speech, CVV.CV)

The vowels in VV sequences may be identical (double vowels). With double vowels, usually there are two clearly audible breath pulses in slow pronunciation. In fast speech, the double vowels tend to be realized as a long vowel. So far I have found clear cases of double vowels when morpheme sequencing results in double vowels. Compare (2.30) and (2.31):

- (2.30) /mé-ena-ne/ ['mɛ:rare] 3.S-say-PAST (she/they said)
 (2.31) /mé-na-ne/ ['merare] 3.S-take-PAST (she/they took)

2.2.2 Vowel allophones and minimal pairs

/i/: [i], a close, front, unrounded vowel. Examples: ['iʔɔ] 'new'; ['iɔsɔi] 'that'.

/e/: [ɛ], a half-open, unrounded front vowel, [e], a half-close, unrounded front vowel. The allophone [e] occurs in variation with [ɛ] preceding [i], [a] and [w]. Examples: [du'rewɔ] 'bird', [du'rewɔ] 'bird', ['madei] 'already', ['madei] 'already', [ɛpa'reabe] 'you (SG) know', [ɛpa'reabe] 'you (SG) know'.

/u/: [u], a close, rounded, back vowel. Examples: ['uwɔ] 'road', [ɛ'wau] 'afternoon', [metu'turita] 'it hurts'.

/o/: [ɔ], a half-open, rounded, back vowel; [o], a half-close rounded back vowel. [o] occurs only before [u] and in variation with [ɔ] before [w]. Examples: ['sowatɔ] 'good', ['sowatɔ] 'good', ['hourabe] 'I see'.

/a/: [a], a central, open, unrounded vowel; [ɑ], a backed, open unrounded vowel. [ɑ] occurs only before /u/ and /o/ and in variation with [a] before [ʔ] and [w]. Examples:

- (2.32) ['maʔapɔ] fire
 ['muʔapɔ] fire
 ['naʔɛɔ] my ear
 ['muɔ] wife
 ['dou] sago porridge
 ['ʔɔra] catch!

Minimal pairs for vowel phonemes are given in (2.33):

- | | | | | | |
|--------|----------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|
| (2.33) | /i/-/e/: | /nína/ | drink! | /néna/ | sleep! |
| | | /mído/ | sand | /médo/ | snake |
| | | /méʔebi/ | he read | /méʔebe/ | she read |
| | /e/-/a/: | /néna/ | sleep! | /nána/ | take! |
| | | /náne/ | my | /nána/ | take! |
| | /o/-/a/: | /néno/ | name | /néna/ | sleep! |
| | | /níno/ | night | /nína/ | drink! |
| | /u/-/o/: | /úno/ | banana shoot | /óno/ | vagina |
| | | /túʔo/ | stern post | /tóʔo/ | bone |

2.3 Stress

Stress is distinctive. Consider the following minimal pairs:

- (2.34) /ámeno/ above /améno/ grandmother
 /meʔó/ rope /méʔo/ wood
 /tóʔo/ bone /toʔó/ palm wine

Stress is a combination of pitch, force and length but pitch is the dominating element. Stress may occur on any syllable but the last syllable of words gets stress in a tiny minority of words only. No V.'V words have yet been found. Examples:

(2.35)

/áse/	'V.CV	head
/ebé/	V.'CV	mouth
/mídeni/	'CV.CV.CV	tongue
/panáto/	CV.'CV.CV	rain
/tóʔo/	'CV.CV	bone
/toʔó/	CV.'CV	palm wine
/anomí/	V.CV.'CV	star
/onómo/	V.'CV.CV	spear
/áo/	'V.V	tree; wood

With some words stress has been found to vary, for example /mído/ 'sand', /midó/ 'sand'.

2.4 Graphemes

Table 2: Graphemes

/p/:	p	/s/:	s
/t/:	t	/m/:	m initially/w medially ¹
/k/:	k	/n/:	n initially/r medially
/ʔ/:	q	/a/:	a
/b/:	b	/e/:	e
/d/:	d	/i/:	i
/g/:	g	/o/:	o
/ɸ/:	f	/u/:	u
stressed vowels: á, é, í, ó, ú			
transitional sound [j]: y ²			

¹ This graphemic decision is not based on phonemic considerations but on sociolinguistic ones: Inanwatan people, under the influence of the Indonesian writing system, do not accept a purely phonemic spelling for /m/ and /n/.

² See Chapter 3 for the transitional [j] and other morphophonemic processes.

3 Morphology

The relatively complex verb morphology of Inanwatan, where verbs can have up to five affixes, is in contrast with the rather simple verb morphologies of the languages of the other parts of the Bird's Head like Abun (Berry & Berry 1999), Moi (Menick 1996, 2000), Maybrat (Dol 1999) and Hatam (Reesink 1999). Verbs are inflected for subject person, number and gender, object person and number, tense, mood, aspect and negation. Subject and object are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes.¹ Gender is a pervasive feature of the Inanwatan morphology, affecting all major wordclasses.

3.1 Pronouns

3.1.1 Personal pronouns

The free personal pronouns of Inanwatan are differentiated for subject, object, emphatic subject and oblique functions. The bound forms (subject and object prefixes) are discussed in §3.4.1.

(3.1)	Subject	Object	Emphatic(subject)	Oblique
1SG	<i>náiti/nári</i>	<i>náwe</i>	<i>néwa</i>	<i>nága(dara)</i>
2SG	<i>áiti/ári</i>	<i>áwe</i>	<i>éwa</i>	<i>ága(dara)</i>
3SG.M	<i>ítigi</i>		<i>méwa</i>	<i>éra(dara)</i>
3SG.F	<i>ítigo</i>		<i>méwa</i>	<i>éra(dara)</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>níiti</i>	<i>níwe</i>	<i>nídewawaro</i>	<i>níga(dara)</i>
1PL.INC	<i>dáiti</i>	<i>íwe</i>	<i>dewawaro</i>	<i>íga(dara)</i>
2PL	<i>íiti</i>	<i>íwe</i>	<i>dewawaro</i>	<i>íga(dara)</i>
3PL	<i>ítiga</i>		<i>méwawaro</i>	<i>éra(dara)</i>

Enclitic demonstratives *-wai*, *-sai*, *-wasu* function as personal pronouns for third person objects (see §3.2) filling the 'gaps' in (3.1). Some tentative further analysis of the pronouns in (3.1) seems to be possible. The suffix *-iti* marks subject forms, *-we* object forms, *-wa* emphatic forms and *-waro* plurality in emphatic forms. For *-iti* we would have to assume the

¹ This chapter is a revised and expanded version of de Vries (1996). The data are written in phonemes represented by the graphemes given in the Grapheme Table (see §2.4). Notice that the decision to write the allophones of /m/ and /r/ (see Chapter 2) means that for example the third person subject prefix *me-* is written sometimes as *we-* and sometimes as *me-* depending on its pronunciation.

allomorphs *iti-* (with third person subject forms) and *-ri* (in variation with *-iti*) in 1SG and 2SG forms.

The oblique forms occur sometimes in a longer form (e.g. *nágadara* in stead of *nága*). The oblique forms are used for personal pronouns with peripheral functions in the clause (see §4.1.2 for the distinction between core and peripheral nominals in Inanwatan). The oblique forms most likely consist of (former) postpositions attached to the personal pronouns. For the third person forms this is certain: *-ra* is a postposition meaning ‘to, for, about’ (see §4.1.2). So far I have not encountered a postposition *-ga* or *-gadara*. There are also combinations of personal pronouns and the postpositions *-wai* ‘to’ (direction) and *-(u)ru* ‘(together)with’ (comitative):

- (3.2) *Abo-go ná-wai mó-ra.*
tomorrow-CIRC me-to come-IMP.SG
Tomorrow you must come to me.

- (3.3)(el.) *Náwa-ru sé-ra.*
me-with go-IMP.SG
Take me along!

- (3.4) *Awa-ru mé-se-i?*
you-with 3.S-go-PAST.3SG.M
Did he go with you?

I have found the emphatic forms so far only combined with non-emphatic subject forms. Possibly the *-wa* morpheme in the emphatic forms derives from the proximate demonstrative element *-wa*, compare the frequent local Malay emphatic form *saya ini* literally ‘I here’.

Some examples of personal pronouns, object forms (*náwe*, 3.5), subject forms (*náiti*, *níiti*, 3.6), oblique forms (*í-gadara*, (3.7) and emphatic forms (*néwa*, (3.8)).

- (3.5) *Máíwa náwe síkora me-qegó-re.*
next me school 3.S-cause-PAST
And they put me to school.

- (3.6) *Iyó míroqai-webe tigó-wo + áruqo qai nigé-rowo-be +*
yes true-be so-be.3.SG.F blood.F follow 1PL.EXC.S-come.down-PRES
a áruqo qai-nigé-rowo-be mé-ra-re tígo úra-wai
ah blood follow-1PL.EXC.S-come.down-PRES 3.S-lay-PAST so DEM-this.F
tígo-wo níiti nige-rágo-be.
so-be.3SG.F we 1PL.EXC.S-pierce-PRES
náiti ne-rágo-be níro-go isíbowo. #
I 1SG.S-pierce-PRES night-CIRC sago.bait
Yes, that is true, we followed the bloodtrail and it lay dead which we speared,
which I speared at night at the sagobait.

- (3.7) *Má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re + a mé-era-rita-re*
thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and ah 3.S-say-DUR-PAST.PL
qáwera í-gadara ísido mé-ge-rita-bi-sai-sai. #
child.PL 1PL.INC-from empty 3.S-do-DUR-SG.M-this.M-this.M
Since he kept doing so, they said, ah, this one leaves us without children.

- (3.8) *Náiti néwa ne-wutáube-sai.*
 I myself 1SG.S-kill-this.M
 I myself killed him.

3.1.2 Possessive pronouns

Inanwatan has both free and bound possessive pronominal forms. The free forms express alienable possession, the possessive prefixes express inalienable possession.

(3.9)	Free	Bound
1SG.M	<i>náre-so</i>	<i>na-</i>
1SG.F	<i>naridó-wo</i>	<i>na-</i>
2SG.M	<i>áre-so</i>	<i>a-</i>
2SG.F	<i>aridó-wo</i>	<i>a-</i>
3SG.M.male	<i>tigidáe-so</i>	
3SG.M.female	<i>tigáe-so</i>	
3SG.F.male	<i>tigidá-wo</i>	
3SG.F.female	<i>(tigu)a-wo/áo</i>	
1PL.EXC.M	<i>níri(-so)</i>	<i>ni(da)-</i>
1PL.EXC.F	<i>nírido(-wo)</i>	<i>ni(da)-</i>
1PL.INC.M	<i>dári/dáe-so</i>	<i>da-</i>
1PL.INC.F	<i>dáro(-wo)</i>	<i>da-</i>
2PL.M	<i>íri(-so)</i>	<i>i(da)-</i>
2PL.F	<i>írido-wo</i>	<i>i(da)-</i>
3PL.M	<i>tigáe-so</i>	
3PL.F	<i>(tig)a-wo/áo</i>	

The free forms express gender of the possessor. The third person singular free forms express double gender: male or female possessor plus the cross-referenced gender of the possessed noun (optional gender suffixes, masculine: *-so*; feminine: *-wo*).

- (3.10) *tigidáe-so suqére*
 his-M sago.M
 his sago

- (3.11) *tigáe-so suqére*
 her-M sago.M
 her sago

The free forms may also be used predicatively:

- (3.12) *Méqaro naridó-wo.*
 house mine-F
 The house is mine.

The possessive prefixes, used for inalienable nouns (body part nouns, kinship terms and a few other nouns, see §3.3), do not differentiate gender. Inalienably possessed nouns indicate gender by the stem-final vowel.

The bound forms occur only in the first and second person. When possession is not expressed on inalienably possessed nouns, third person possessors are understood, that is *míro* means ‘her belly’ (3.14). In other words, inalienable nouns have either a possessive prefix (first and second person) or imply third person possessors.

- (3.13) *Ná-wiri me-tutú-rita-bi.*
 my-belly.M 3.S-hurt-DUR-M
 My belly is hurting. (I (male) have pain in my belly).

- (3.14) *Míro me-tutú-rita.*
 belly.F 3.S-hurt-DUR
 Her belly is hurting. (She has pain in her belly).

Although informants used the bound forms consistently with inalienable nouns in direct elicitation, in the texts I found free possessive pronouns with kinship terms:

- (3.15) *Iri qotoqóware-sái + nírido qotoqówaro +*
 your(PL) child.M-this.M our(EXCL) child.F
úto wé-ri-rita-bi. #
 fish 3.S-eat-HAB-M
 Your son has a relationship with our daughter.

The final vowel of the bound forms is elided before noun-initial vowels (*na-épe>n-épe* ‘my-foot.M’) but in some cases noun-initial vowels elide, for example *ná-oro>ná-ro* ‘my-vagina.F’.

3.1.3 Reflexive pronouns

The nouns *íra-giro* ‘body; person’ (body-skin.F), *íra-giri* ‘body; person’ (body-skin.M) and *íro-wo* (body-CONN) are used as reflexive pronouns, as follows:

- (3.16)
- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| 1SG.male | <i>n-íragiri</i> |
| 1SG.female | <i>n-íragiro</i> |
| 2/3SG.male | <i>íragir-i/íro-wo</i> |
| 2/3SG.female/3PL | <i>íragiro</i> |
| 1PL.EXC | <i>níd-iragiro</i> |
| 1PL.INC/2PL | <i>d-íragiro/íro-wo</i> |

Examples:

- (3.17) *Mai-róe-bido írowo ége-bido d-íragiro. #*
 now-go.out-1PL.INC.ADH body.CONN show(?)-1PL.INC.ADH 1.PL.INC-body
 Let us show ourselves.

- (3.18)(el.) *N-íragiro nó-ura-re.*
 my-body.F 1SG.S-see-PAST
 I(female) saw myself.

The nouns functioning as reflexive pronouns are inalienably possessed nouns, taking possessive prefixes (see §3.1.2) and with semantic gender (§3.3.1).

I have one example in my texts² of a reciprocal pronoun:

- (3.19) *Mé-rowo-re ewáíwa + níogai mé-era-re*
 3.S-come.down-PAST and each.other 3.S-say-PAST
suda mé-era-re núawu-bido + mútero-wai. #
 so 3.S-say-PAST come.together-1PL.INC.ADH one-this.F
 They came down and they said to each other, let us come together in one place.

3.2 Demonstratives

Demonstrative forms are presented in (3.20):

Table 3: Demonstratives

(3.20)

Proximate	Free form		Clitic
	Substantive	Attributive	
F.SG	<i>ma-i</i>	<i>e-wá-i</i>	<i>-wa-i</i>
M.SG	<i>sa-i</i>	<i>e-sá-i</i>	<i>-sa-i</i>
PL	<i>má(-su)</i>	<i>e-wá(-su)</i>	<i>-wá(-su)</i>
Distal			
F.SG	<i>owó-i</i>	<i>i-ówo-i</i>	<i>-wo-i</i>
M.SG	<i>osó-i</i>	<i>i-óso-i</i>	<i>-so-i</i>
PL	<i>owó(-su)</i>	<i>i-owó(-su)</i>	<i>-wo(-su)</i>

Singular is marked by *-i*; plural is optionally, but usually, marked by *-su*. The consonant opposition /m/ (intervocalic allophone written as w) versus /s/ marks feminine versus masculine. The vowel opposition /a/ versus /o/ marks proximate versus distal. Notice that the feminine singular forms are also used as plural forms. The attributive use is distinguished by *e-* in the proximate and *i-* in the distal attributive forms. In addition to the attributive singular forms of (3.20), sometimes the forms *úra-wai*, *úra-sai*, *úra-woi* and *úra-soi* are used, as in (3.21).

- (3.21) *mura-gárebo-wai úra-wai*
 river-mouth-this.F DEM-this.F
 the rivermouth

The form *úra* also occurs on its own as a demonstrative (glossed DEM), as in (3.22):

- (3.22) *Adó adó úra bído úra mé-rare-wai + ewéte-wa me-rágo-re. #*
 dear dear DEM pig DEM 3.S-dead-this.F who-this 3.S-pierce-PAST
 Oh dear, oh dear, the pig is dead, who speared it?

Forms derived from demonstratives like *máíwo* and *owóíwo* are used as spatiotemporal adverbs meaning 'here/now' and 'there/then':

² In direct elicitation with Malay stimuli (*Mereka baku bunuh* 'They killed each other') the reciprocal form turned up in the following example: *ítiga níogai mewutáube* (they each.other they.killed).

- (3.23) *Mái-wo wó-uwu-i ewáíwa + ao nésaro áwuga-era-era-ro*
 here-at 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.M and his smithy iron-piece-piece-PL
tétewo mogó-we-de-wo-i. #
 all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M
 Here he settled and he brought across all pieces of iron for his smithy.

The demonstrative based forms *mái-wa* and *ewái-wa* (-*wa* is probably a reduced form of -*wai*) very frequently occur as discourse-conjunctions meaning ‘and’ or ‘next’ (e.g. (3.23)), especially in narratives following tail–head linkages (see §4.3).

The proximate, plural demonstrative clitic -*wasu* has also been found to express plurality in some nouns, especially kinship nouns, for example *néqide* ‘my father’, *néqide-wasu* ‘my fathers’.

In noun phrases the demonstratives very frequently function as markers of definiteness, (3.24, 3.25):

- (3.24) *Nawóra esái Patipi-wótewe wé-de-wo-re.*
 Nawora this.M Patipi-from 3S-go.across-come-PAST.PL
 Nawora and his clan came across from Patipi.
- (3.25) *Baru + mírago sówato mé-we-rita-i táwaro sówato +*
 next machete good 3S-give-DUR-PAST.SG.M steel.axe good
buat mogógo áreto wé-ra-rita-re itatábo iówosu. #
 for for thing 3S-make-DUR-PAST.PL ancestors those
 And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.

The postclitic forms function as third person subject markers ((3.26), *médewoi-sai*) and object markers (3.27) with verbs and as definiteness markers with nouns, (3.28):

- (3.26) *Mé-de-wo-i-sai Náwora esái + buka méwo si*
 3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M-this.M Namora this.M not hand empty
wé-de-wo-bi-d-aigo + ao miriqó ewái nági-aga íragiro
 3.S-cross-come-PRES.SG.M-TR-NEG his gun this.F one-POSS body
mógo-we-de-wo-i + mawágoruqu-wa mé-era-rita-re. #
 carry-3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M big.men-these 3.S-say-HAB-PAST.PL
 When Namora came across, he did not do so emptyhanded, he brought twenty guns across, the leaders used to tell.
- (3.27) *Ne-wutáu-ge-sai.*
 1SG.S-kill-PAST-this.M
 I killed him.
- (3.28) *Jadi orowó-wai dówo-go me-sée-re + géro-wai. #*
 therefore lance-this.F short-with 3.S-cut-PAST.PL handle-this.F
 Therefore they cut the lance short, its handle.

3.3 Nouns

There are two noun classes, alienable and inalienable nouns. Inalienable nouns take possessive prefixes and alienable nouns free possessive pronouns. Number (singular and plural) and gender (feminine and masculine) are distinguished in nouns. In the plural, the gender distinctions are neutralised.

3.3.1 Gender

Gender in nouns is determined by the last vowel. Nouns ending in a front vowel (/i/, /e/) are masculine and the remaining nouns (ending in /u/, /o/ and /a/) feminine. Phonological gender systems (in the sense of Corbett 1991:51), as found in Inanwatan, have been found elsewhere in New Guinea (in Torricelli and Lower Sepik families, for example Yimas, see Foley 1986, 1991). The great majority of nouns is feminine.

In a minority of nouns gender has a semantic basis (male and female).³ This class comprises the following nouns. Nouns denoting humans (including kinship nouns, for example *qotoqówaro* 'daughter', *qotoqóware* 'son'). Nouns denoting domesticated animals (for example *mewáqoto* 'female dog', *mewáqote* 'male dog'). Also included are a number of inanimate nouns such as human body parts and body fluids (for example *áruqo* 'blood (of a female)', *áruqi* 'blood (of a male)'), orientational nouns which take the human body as point of reference (for example *edúduro* 'left (of a female)', *edúduri* 'left (of a male)', the noun *néro* 'name (of a female)', *néri* 'name (of a male)' and other nouns associated with the body (for example *awúwuro* 'strength (of a female)', *awúwuri* 'strength (of a male)'). Although a minority, these nouns with semantic gender have a high profile in the language, not only because of the importance of kinship but also because body related nouns are used in the expression of a wide range of lexical and grammatical meanings such as reflexivity (§3.1.3), spatial orientation, cognition (3.30), emotion (see §4.1.1, (4.7) and (4.8)) and experiential expressions (3.13, 3.14). Examples:

- (3.29) *Ira-gir-i me-wutáu-sa-bi.*
body-skin-M 3.S-kill-FUT-M
He wants to kill himself.
- (3.30) *Náwe a-qer-ó ígo-ra.*
me.O your-ear-F think-IMP.SG
You (female) must remember me!

3.3.2 Number

Plurality is marked by a suffix *-o*, which replaces the last vowel of the noun stem. This means that for the majority of nouns (which have /o/ as stem-final vowel) there is no formal distinction between singular and plural forms. Some nouns, especially kinship nouns, have suppletive plural forms (see §1.8.3):

³ In Puragi (see Appendix 3, §2.5.2), the neighbouring language to the north and east of Inanwatan, the vowel opposition which expresses the feminine/masculine opposition in human nouns (final /o/: female, final /i/: male), expresses size/quantity in inanimate nouns, e.g. *amepuri* 'wind', *amepuro* 'strong wind'.

- (3.31) *nówi* my mother's brother
 nótatabo my mother's brothers

3.3.3 Derivation of nouns

Nouns referring to humans characterized by a quality X can be derived by adding *-ewi* (M), *-ewo* (F) and *-ewe* (PL) to the noun denoting X, with its final vowel elided, as follows:

- (3.32)(el.) *náto* wound
 nátewi wounded man
 nátewo wounded woman
 nátewe wounded people
- (3.33) *qówe* penis
 qówewi man (polite)
 óro vagina
 órewo woman (polite)
- (3.34) *mído* snot
 mídewi snotty nose (M) (abusive)
- (3.35) *ígo* tinea
 ígewi (male) sufferer from tinea
 ígewe sufferers from tinea

Nouns referring to persons habitually performing an action X can be derived from the habitual form of the verb denoting X, which is *X-rita*. The derivational suffixes are *-we* (M), *-wo* (F) or *-(ra)saru* (PL). Examples:

- (3.36) *buqá-rita-we* writer (< *buqa-* 'to write')
 buqá-rita-wo (female) writer
 buqá-rita-saru writers
 neqódi-rita-we thief (< *neqodi-* 'to steal')
 mutau-rita-we killer (< *mutau-* 'to kill')

The feminine form of this derivation is used both for agent nominalization (3.36) and event nominalization, (3.37):

- (3.37) *Mutáu-rita-wo-wai* *badá-o-wo.*
 kill-HAB-NOM-this.F bad-I-be.3.SG.F
 Killing is bad.

A nominalized form that consists of the verb stem plus a combination of the two plural nominalization suffixes *-ewe* and *-saru* functions as a relative clause with implicit head, for example *qai-reqá-ewesaru*, literally 'the followers' in (3.38) and *mógo-wo te-ewésaru*, the sitters in the jungle in (3.39):

- (3.38) *Qai-reqá-ewesaru* *mó-ura-re* *mésida-o* *urá-owosu.*
 follow-go.PL-NOM.PL 3.S-see-PAST person-PL DEM-those
 Those who followed (the trail) saw that there were people.

- (3.39) *Nárido + ná-tatabo + maa + ketemu-we-gé-re + n-írubu*
 my my-ancestor.PL PAUSE meet-3.S-do-PAST my-relatives
masú-gaga tatabo + mógo-wo te-ewésaru. #
 they-POSS ancestor.PL jungle-in sit-NOM.PL
 My ancestors, eh, they met, my relatives and the ancestors, those who lived
 in the jungle.
- (3.40) *Baru + yang nágo-ewesaru ewásu áruqo qai-wé-rowo-re. #*
 next that pierce-NOM.PL these blood follow-3.S-come.down-PAST
 And those who had speared (the pig), they came down to follow the bloodtrail.

In (3.40) the nominalization is combined with a Malay code switch containing the Malay relativiser *yang*.

3.3.4 Compounds

In noun compounds a modifying noun stem precedes a modified noun stem. When the modifying noun stem is a feminine noun ending in /o/, the final vowel becomes /a/ in the compound noun. The stress of the modified noun becomes the main stress of the compound. The stress of the modifying noun becomes a secondary stress. Examples:

- (3.41)
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>íro</i> | gong | <i>séro</i> | word | <i>ira-séro</i> | a story about a gong |
| <i>múro</i> | river | <i>métoro</i> | side | <i>mura-wétoro</i> | riverside |
| <i>bído</i> | pig | <i>érasoe</i> | fat | <i>bida-érasoe</i> | pigfat |
| <i>qégedi</i> | sun | <i>órewo</i> | woman | <i>qegedi-órewo</i> | daughter of the sun |

3.4 Verbs

There are four classes of verbs, intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and copular verbs (-*ra* and *i*-). Copular verbs have either their own, limited inflection (-*ra*) or no inflection (*i*-). The other verb classes share inflection for person, number and gender of the subject, tense, aspect and negation. Transitive and ditransitive verbs may mark the object in the verb, but only when the object is the speaker or the addressee. Subject and object are crossreferenced or expressed by verbal prefixes, with the exception of counterfactual and third person future forms which have subject suffixes. A sizeable minority of verbs have suppletive plural stems, for example *uwu*- 'to sit', with plural stem *te*-, *se*- 'to go' with plural stem *reqa*-, *miwi*- 'to run' with plural stem *noda*-, *qebadi*- 'to turn (INTR)' with plural stem *qebate*-, *na*- 'to cry' with plural stem *neberu*- and *nou*- 'to fall' with plural stem *nouquge*-.

3.4.1 Subject and object prefixes

The set (3.42) gives the subject and object prefixes of verbs:

(3.42)	subject	object
1SG	<i>ne-</i>	<i>na-</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>nige-</i>	<i>ni-</i>
1PL.INC/2PL	<i>ge-</i>	<i>i-</i>
2SG	<i>e-</i>	<i>a-</i>
3SG/PL	<i>me-</i>	-

The subject and object prefixes of the first and second person have clear formal correspondences with the sets of personal pronouns and possessive prefixes (see §3.1) but the 3SG/PL subject prefix *me-* is completely different from the personal and possessive forms.

Whereas the possessive prefixes undergo vowel-elision before noun-initial vowels, the final vowels of the subject and object prefixes do not undergo elision. Instead, vowel sequences are formed, including double vowels, phonetically realised as long vowels, for example /né-era-re/ 'I said' ([nɛ: rarɛ]) contrasting with /né-ra-re/ 'I held' ([nɛrarɛ]). The final /e/ of the subject prefixes assimilates to /o/ when the verb stem has an initial /o/ or /u/. Examples: /né-opo-re/ > [nɔ: pɔrɛ] '1SG.S-take a bath-PAST', /mé-uwu-ge/ > [mouwugɛ] '3.S-sit-PAST'. The prefix final /e/ dissimilates⁴ to /i/ before verb initial /a/, for example /ne-átu-ge/ > [ni'atugɛ] '1SG.S-board (the canoe)-PAST'.

Examples of subject and object prefixation:

(3.43)(el.) *Ni-á-weigo-re.*

1SG.S-2SG.O-deceive-PAST

I deceived you.

(3.44) *Mí-ri-ra-rita + míroqai-weebe + nige-tóbo-be tígo*
3.S-1PL.EXC.O-say-HAB true-bc(?) 1PL..EXC.S-listen-PRES so

qotoqówar-o órewo-wai séro mútero. #

child-F woman-this.F word one

They say to us, it is true, we have heard the same thing about the girl.

(3.45) *Awoge méqaro naguáre áwoge dínasi-da-wo nágo-wo*
again house one again service-POSS-be.3SG.F one-CONN

me-rá-wi-de buat nanti páakai-bégewu mó ré-re-sa. #

3.S-1SG.O-give-PAST for later use-in.order.to(PL) there 1SG-sleep-FUT

And they gave me also a house of the (health) service to live there in the future.

Transitive verbs with object prefixes also allow the object to be marked by an independent personal pronoun in its object form. If so, there is no object prefix. Compare (3.43) and (3.46):

(3.46)(el.) *áwe ne-wéigo-re*
you(SG.O) 1SG.S-deceive-PAST
I deceived you.

⁴ The phoneme /o/, the other half-close vowel of Inanwatan, undergoes an analogous closing dissimilation before the open vowel /a/ in morpheme sequencing, for example /qidó-are/ > /qidú-are/ 'not yet'.

3.4.2 Tense

Inanwatan has three tenses, a Past tense for events that took place before yesterday's sunset, a Present tense for events taking place at the moment of utterance or before that moment but after yesterday's sunset⁵ and a Future tense for events after utterance-time.

3.4.2.1 Past

The Past is expressed by the suffix *-re*, with the phonologically conditioned allomorphs *-de* after verb stems ending in /i/ and *-ge* after verb stems ending in /u/. In 3SG masculine forms, the Past suffix is *-i*. In verbs which do not have suppletive plural stems, the 3PL forms are identical to the 3SG feminine forms. Examples of the Past paradigms of *uwu-/te-* 'to sit; to stay; to live' and *opo-* 'to take a bath':

(3.47)	1SG	<i>nó-uwu-ge</i>	<i>nó-opo-re</i>
	2SG	<i>ó-uwu-ge</i>	<i>ó-opo-re</i>
	3SG.M	<i>mó-uwu-i</i>	<i>mó-opo-i</i>
	3SG.F	<i>mó-uwu-ge</i>	<i>mó-opo-re</i>
	1PL.EXC	<i>nigé-te-re</i>	<i>nigó-opo-re</i>
	2PL/1PL.INC	<i>gé-te-re</i>	<i>gó-opo-re</i>
	3PL	<i>mé-te-re</i>	<i>mó-opo-re</i>

3.4.2.2 Present

The Present is expressed by the suffix *-be*. In 3SG masculine forms, the Present suffix is *-bi*. An example paradigm of *uwu-/te-* 'to sit':

(3.48)	1SG	<i>nó-uwu-be</i>
	2SG	<i>ó-uwu-be</i>
	3SG.M	<i>mó-uwu-bi</i>
	3SG.F	<i>mó-uwu-be</i>
	1PL.EXC	<i>nigé-te-be</i>
	2PL/1PL.INC	<i>gé-te-be</i>
	3PL	<i>mé-te-be</i>

3.4.2.3 Future

The Future forms have the suffix *-sa*. The Future forms have subject suffixes in the third person singular forms, *-bi* for 3SG.M and *-be* for 3SG.F/3PL. An example Future paradigm of *uwu-/te-* 'to sit':

⁵ The Inanwatan seem to consider the previous sunset as the termination of 'yesterday' and as the start of 'today'.

(3.49)	1SG	<i>nó-uwu-sa</i>
	2SG	<i>ó-uwu-sa</i>
	3SG.M	<i>uwú-sa-bi</i>
	3SG.F	<i>uwú-sa-be</i>
	1PL.EXC	<i>nigé-te-sa</i>
	2PL/1PL.INC	<i>gé-te-sa</i>
	3PL	<i>té-sa-be</i>

3.4.3 Aspect: the habitual-durative suffix

Thus far I have found only one aspectual distinction expressed inflectionally, with the habitual-durative suffix *-rita*. These tenseless forms are used for events presented as occurring habitually, repeatedly or prolongedly. In stories, the forms with *-rita* often seem to lose their aspectual meaning and seem to function as narrative forms (see for example Appendix 2, text A 2, (21)). The 3SG masculine forms have the gender suffix *-bi*. An example habitual-durative paradigm of *uwu-/te-* ‘to sit’:

(3.50)	1SG	<i>nó-uwu-rita</i>
	2SG	<i>ó-uwu-rita</i>
	3SG.M	<i>mó-uwu-rita-bi</i>
	3SG.F	<i>mó-uwu-rita</i>
	1PL.EXC	<i>nigé-te-rita</i>
	2PL/1PL.INC	<i>gé-te-rita</i>
	3PL	<i>mé-te-rita</i>

The habitual-durative suffix *-rita* may also be used in tensed verb forms, like Past forms. In that case the Past endings are used. Notice the contrasts between (3.51) and (3.52):

- (3.51) *Mó-uwu-rita-bi.*
 3.S-sit-HAB-3SG.M
 He is sitting.
- (3.52) *Mó-uwu-rita-i.*
 3.S-sit-HAB-PAST.SG.M
 He used to sit.

See also Appendix 2, Texts, for examples of tenseless (Text A 2, (2) and (3)) and tensed forms (A 3, (4)) with *-rita*.

3.4.4 Mood

3.4.4.1 Imperative and adhortative mood

The suffix *-ra* marks imperative; in plural imperative forms, a plural suffix *-e* is added:

- (3.53) *Sé-ra-re + gégedi órewo + káawe-ra. #*
 go-IMP.SG-and sun woman marry-IMP.SG
 Go and marry the daughter of the sun.

- (3.54) *Ago mé-qaqo-i-de mé-era-rita-i +*
 but 3S-face-PAST.SG.M-and 3S-say-DUR-PAST.SG.M
qotoqówaro owói íqo-ra-e na-wáo-go. #
 daughter that.F put.down-IMP-PL my-wife-CIRC
 And he faced (them) and said, that girl, you must give her to me as my wife.

For the negative imperative, Future forms with *-sa* are used in combination with the negative imperative adverb *egábara*. Examples:

- (3.55) *Egábara náwe e-sée-sa. #*
 NEG.IMP me.O 2SG.S-cut-FUT
 Don't cut me.
- (3.56) *Egábara áibo gé-ra-sa. #*
 NEG.IMP voice 2PL.S-say-FUT
 You must not speak!

The suffix *-bido* marks the plural adhortative:

- (3.57) *Iro túgarido ira-séro qé-bido.*
 gong inheritance gong-story speak-ADH.1PL
 The gong, let us tell the *túgarido*⁶ story of the gong.

3.4.4.2 The counterfactual mood

The counterfactual mood, expressed by the suffix *-d*, has its own set of subject person and number suffixes. An example paradigm of *mo-* 'to come':

- (3.58) 1SG *mó-d-eqo* 'I would have come'
 2SG *mó-d-ero*
 3SG.M *mó-d-io*
 3SG.F/3PL *mó-d-ewo*
 1PL.EXC *mó-d-iro*
 2PL *mó-d-ido*
- (3.59)(el.) *Iwáa-go dókter-e náwe úra-y-aigo⁷ máiwo-go nú-d-eqo.*
 yesterday-CIRC doctor-M me.O see-TR-NEG now-CIRC die-CF-1SG
 If the doctor had not helped me, I would be dead now.

3.4.5 Negation

Negative imperative forms with the negative imperative adverb *egábara* have already been given, see (3.55–3.56). The other negative verb forms found thus far have a negative

⁶ See Appendix 2, Texts, Part A for this Inanwatan genre.

⁷ Generally, when the negative suffix *-aigo* follows a vowel, the transitional sound [j] (grapheme: y) or sometimes [d] is inserted at the morpheme break. After the future suffix *-sa*, elision of /a/ takes place (*-sa+-aigo>-saigo*).

suffix *-aigo*. Optionally, negative verb forms are preceded by the negative adverb *náwo*. Examples:

- (3.60) (*Náwo*) *né-se-s-aigo*.
 (not) 1SG.S-walk-FUT-NEG
 I am not going to walk.

Occasionally, negation with *-aigo* leads to neutralization of tense, gender, person and number distinctions, for example:

- (3.61) *Má-ge-re-re neqo-y-áigo me-roé tígo + uwó*
 thus-do-PAST-and catch-TR-NEG 3.S-go.out.PAST.M so road
tira-i + Usuqó gobó ewáíwa + uwá-rero. #
 take-ADV Usuqó branch and road-name
 They did not catch him and he went out via the Usuqo arm, that it's name.

The words *éise* 'yes' and *(qe)qído* 'no' can stand on their own⁸ as complete utterances in conversations but *(qe)qído* is also used as an interclausal conjunction in disjunctive questions, for example:

- (3.62) *Kófido é-ri-sa qeqído téro é-ri-sa?*
 coffee 2SG.S-drink-FUT or tea 2SG.S-drink-FUT
 Do you want coffee or tea?

In contrastive contexts I have found the negative adverb *ógora*:

- (3.63) *Ogora ítigi (ago) náiti ne-wága-rita.*
 not he (but) I 1SG.S-make-HAB
 Not he but I usually make it.

3.4.6 Non-finite forms

A non-finite verb form consisting of just the reduplicated verb stem is used to indicate simultaneity of events in durative contexts. This reduplicated form may either precede or follow the main predicate.

- (3.64)(el.) *Areto ni-ri séro me-qé-rita.*
 food eat-eat word 3PL.S-speak-DUR
 They are eating and talking.
- (3.65) *Né-se-rita íwe úra-w-ura.*
 1SG.S-walk-DUR you(PL.O) see-TR-see
 While I walk, I am watching you.

The second non-finite form consist of the verb stem with the suffix *-i*. The verb form qualifies a finite verb that it follows or precedes in an adverbial manner. For example:

- (3.66) *Ererao tígo má-ge-tira-i mé-i-de*
 other.PL so thus-do-take-ADV 3.S-descend-PAST

⁸ Sometimes *(qe)qído* combines with *-aigo* to form *(qe)qíduúigo*.

érrerao úra m-ówe-re gáqeto-wai. #

other.PL DEM 3.S-go.up-PAST headwater-this.F

While some thus descended, still others went up to the headwater.

The third non-finite form found so far is a purposive infinitival form consisting of the verb stem plus the suffix *-begewu* with singular subjects and *-birowu* with plural subjects:

- (3.67) *Má-ge-re-re mawágo-wasu meigo-weigo + ago Mugúro-wotewe +*
 thus-do-PAST-and big-these deceive-deceive but Mugúro-from

me-párea-re + urú-we-rowo-rita-re ewáíwa

3S-know-PAST.PL together-3S-come.down-DUR-PAST.PL and

órewé sówa eráwise-wasu qeqúqu-wa + éro-wo
 woman.PL attractive virgin-these parent.PL-these canoe-in

teqó-ge + táwaro ra-bírowu mírago ra-bírowu. #

board.canoe-with steel.axe take-for.PL machete take-for.PL

Thus the big men deceived (him) and those from Mugim knew it and they came down with (their) attractive women, girls, the parents put them in the canoes when they went to get axes and machetes.

- (3.68)(el.) *Né-i-rita opó-begewu.*
 1SG.S-descend-DUR take.a.bath-to(SG)
 I am going down to take a bath.

Mé-i-rita-bi opó-begewu.
 3.S-descend-DUR-M take.a.bath-to(SG)
 He is going down to take a bath.

Mé-i-rita opó-birowu.
 3.S-descend-DUR take.a.bath-to(PL)
 They are going down to take a bath.

3.4.7 Copular verbs

In locative-existential clauses Inanwatan uses a combination of the invariable element *i-* and demonstrative enclitics. Consider the following examples:

- (3.69) *E-ra mé-qe-re i-sái na-qíde-sai.*
 3SG-to 3.S-speak-PAST be-this.M my-father-this.M
 She said to him, my father is there.

- (3.70) *I-wosu Sóru.*
 be-those Sorong
 They are in Sorong.

- (3.71) *I-wasu mésida-o?*
 be-these people-PL
 Are there people?

With first and second person subjects, there is no predicative element:

- (3.72) *Náiti Soru.*
 I Sorong
 I am in Sorong.

Locative-existential clauses may also be used to express possession:

- (3.73) *Túgare, pípiso í-wai?*
 Sir money be-this.F
 Sir, do you have money?

The copular verb *-ra* is used in clauses that express attribution (3.74), equation (3.75) and possession (3.78, 3.79). The verb *-ra* is a special verb with irregular forms which express only person, number and gender. The verb cliticizes to predicative adjectives (3.74) and nouns (3.75), as follows:

- (3.74) 1SG.M *sówat-e-ra-ra* 'I am good' (good-M-1SG-be)
 1SG.F *sówat-o-ra-ra*
 2SG.M *sówat-i-a-ra*
 2SG.F *sówat-u-a-ra*⁹
 3SG.M *sówat-e-so*
 3SG.F/3PL *sówat-o-wo*
 1PL.EXC *sówat-o-ri-ra*
 2PL/1PL.INC *sówat-o-i-ra*
- (3.75)(el.) *Mésida-e bidó mé-wutau-bi ísoi nówi-so.*
 person-M pig 3.S-kill-PRES.3SG.M that my.uncle-be.3SG.M
 The man who killed the pig is the headman

The person and number suffixes of the first and second person correspond to the possessive prefixes and the object prefixes. The verb form *-eri-aigo* 'not be' is used in negative attributive-equative clauses with *-ra*:

- (3.76)(el.) *Níiti sówato-eri-aigo.*
 we.EXC good-not.be-NEG
 We are not good.

A rather special use of *-eri-aigo* is its function in verbs as a marker of temporal overlap of events ('while A, B'). Informants insist that *-eriaigo* means 'while' and not 'before' as might be expected on the basis of the negative element in *-eriaigo*.

- (3.77) *Usóqo gobó mái-wo e má-ge-re-re mó-owo-re*
 Usóqo sea here-CONN EXCL thus-do-PAST-and 3.S-go.upstream-PAST
máiwa tigo + mi-átu-ge súa ewái agó-wasu + mésida-e
 next so 3.S-ascend-PAST water this.F and-they man-M
rage ésai márouru-sai tígo Dúweqau egí-sai +
 one that.M offspring-this.M so Dúweqau father-this.M

⁹ The /i/ and /u/ in the 2SG forms are the result of the morphophonemic dissimilation rule which changes the half-close vowels /e/ and /o/ into the close vowels /i/ and /u/ before /a/.

méqaro-wo-qede + sáa-wai mi-átu-ri-y-aigo-sai-tigo
 house-in-TOP water-this.F 3.S-ascend-not.be-TR-NEG-this.M-so

méwoqo-wasu mé-qugo-i. #
 dog-these 3.S-cut-PAST.M

Thus the Usoqo sea entered here and the water rose and one man with his children, the father of Duweqau, were still in the house and while the water rose, the man slaughtered his dogs.

When used to express possession, the possessive marker *-da* is suffixed to the possessor noun in predicate position:

- (3.78)(el.) *Bidó iowói guru-i-dá-wo.*
 pig that.F teacher-M-POSS-be.3SG.F
 That pig is the teacher's (pig).

- (3.79) *Méqaro Dinasi-dá-wo.*
 house Service-POSS-be.3SG.F
 The house is owned by the Service.

3.4.8 Derivation and compounding of verbs

Adjectives are productively verbalised by affixing verbal morphology to the masculine form of the adjective. For example, *sówate* 'good' is the base for *me-sówate-be* 'she is good' (3.S-good-PRES.F). This form may also mean 'she becomes good' and this is a difference with the predicative adjectives supported by the copular verb *-na* that do not have the dynamic reading (see §3.4.7, compare *sówat-o-wo* 'she is/was/will be good'). Furthermore, the verbalised adjectives express the full range of morphological categories (tense, mood, aspect, gender, person, number) distinctions whereas the predicative adjectives with *-na* express only person, number and gender.

Inanwatan has two productive strategies to combine verb roots (see §4.2.1). The first is to combine verb roots in compound verbs. The second is to combine verb roots with inflected verbs in complex phrasal verbs. Causative, (in)transitive and continuative verbs are formed by both strategies. The first strategy is used to form compound verbs like *úwu-ge-* 'to cause to sit', *úwu-se-* 'to sit continuously':

- (3.80) *Qotoqówar-e báakuko-qai mó-uwu-ge-be.*
 child-M bench-at 3.S-sit-do-PRES.3SG.F
 She (just) made her son sit on the bench.

- (3.81) *Nó-uwu-se-rita.*
 1SG.S-sit-go-DUR
 I am sitting all the time.

With the verb *ego-* 'to cause' causative compound verbs can be formed with adjectival and verbal roots, for example *sówato* 'good', *sówatego-* 'to repair', *ópo-* 'to take a bath', *ópoegeo-* 'to make someone take a bath', for example:

- (3.82) *Mótoro me-sówat-ego-be.*
 engine 3.S-good-cause-PRES
 They (just) have repaired the engine.

I do not have sufficient data to say anything on the relation between causative compounds with *ego-* and *ge-*. The verb *ge-* is very frequent, both as independent verb and in compounds whereas I did not find many *ego-* compounds and no examples of its use as an independent verb.

The second strategy, complex phrasal verb formation (see §4.2.1) is illustrated by (3.83) and (3.84):

(3.83) *Máso-we-ge-i.*

enter-3.S-do-PAST.SG.M

He entered.

(3.84) *Mái-wo wó-uwu-i ewáíwa + ao nésar áwuga-era-era-ro*
 here-to 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.M and his smithy iron-piece-piece-PL

tétewo mogó-we-de-wo-i. #

all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M

Here he settled and he brought across pieces of iron for his smithy.

The verb complex *mogó-we-de-wo-i* in (3.84) illustrates both strategies of verb compounding (*de-wo-* ‘to come across’) and formation of complex phrasal verbs with bare verb roots preceding the inflected verb and phonologically integrated with that inflected verb. This second strategy seems to be used with the intransitivising root *ide-* in *íde-wó-u-rita-re* in (3.85) that intransitivizes *u-* ‘to fell (trees)’:

(3.85) *Suqó-wai + ibáu-go ewái + deraqóbo-go*
 sago-this.F formerly-CIRC this pointed.stick-CIRC

mó-u-rita-re + tíra-tira-we-i-rita-re ewáíwa
 3.S-fell-HAB-PAST take-take-3.S-pierce-HAB-PAST and

íde-wó-u-rita-re + suqó-wai íbau éwai suqéré-wai
 INTR-3.S-fell-HAB-PAST sago-this.F formerly this.F raw.sago-this.F

me-tetéi-rita-re.

3.S-cut-HAB-PAST

Formerly, they used to fell the sago palm with a pointed stick, they pierced it repeatedly and then it would fall and they would cut the sago palm in blocks of raw sago.

I have no example of the use of *ide-* as an independent verb and only one other example in the texts of its use in a phrasal verb:

(3.86) *Baru + owáqepo áboto egéqiro mi-arouge-i*
 and stairs top bridge 3.S-moor-PAST.SG.M

íde-we-qáwo-i. #

INTR-3.S-descend-PAST.SG.M

And he moored at the bridge and descended (from the canoe).

3.5 Adjectives

The adjective, which occurs postnominally, shows gender agreement with the noun it qualifies in both attributive and predicative uses. When the noun is masculine, the adjective ends in /e/, when feminine the adjective ends in /o/, for example *sówat/sówate* 'good', *badáo/badâe* 'bad', *ébaro/ébare* 'closeby', *ésego/éseqe* 'far(away)', *tétewo/tétewe* 'all', *gíro/gíre* 'long', *dówo/dówe* 'short'.

- (3.87) *méqaro sówat-o*
house.F good-F
a good house
- (3.88) *Méqaro ewái sówat-o-wo.*
house this.F good-F-be.3SG.F
This house is good.
- (3.89) *Fúgi esái ápew-i-so.*
banana this.M delicious-M-be.3SG.M
This banana is delicious.

Some adjectives have unpredictable masculine and feminine forms, for example *si* 'empty (M)' and *ísido* 'empty (F)'. The adjective *áida* 'big' has only one form, used for both genders. The feminine form of the adjective is also used as the plural form. Some adjectives have reduplicated plural forms. In such cases, the feminine form, the default gender, is the basis for the reduplicated form. Examples: *qíqe* 'new (M)', *qíqo* 'new (F)', *qíqíqo* 'new (PL.)'; *ísido* 'empty (F)', *ísísido* 'empty (PL.)'.

There is no morphological comparative or superlative. Periphrastic constructions are used in these contexts:

- (3.90) *Mésida-e esái íragir-i áida-so agó-soi mésida-e*
person-M this.M body-M big-be.3SG.M but-that.M person-M
nág-e nésiror-i-so.
other-M little-M-be.3SG.M
This man is bigger than that man.

The adjective *tétewo* 'all' (3.91) is used as intensifier with adjectives in predicate position (3.92):

- (3.91) *Awuga-era-era-ro téteu ogó-we-de-wo-i.*
iron-piece-piece-PL all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.3SG.M
He brought all his pieces of iron across.
- (3.92)(el.) *Mésida-e esái téteu-i sówat-e-so.*
person-M this.M very-M good-M-be.3SG.M
This man is very good.

3.6 Adverbs

There is a small closed class of invariable adverbs that enjoys considerable positional freedom but prefers to occur immediately before the verb, like *áwoqe* 'again', *mádei* 'already', *náqide* 'quick':

- (3.93) *Náqide ná-ra.*
 quick do-IMP.SG
 Do it quickly!

3.7 Numerals

The Inanwatan count on hands and feet. Counting starts on the left little finger. The numerals from 1 to 4 reveal a binary system ($3=2+1$; $4=2+2$). The numerals 5 (one hand), 10 (both hands), and 20 (one body) are body-part based and combine with the numerals for 1–4 and with each other to form additive numeral phrases.

- (3.94)
- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | <i>mútero/nagiáre/naguáre</i> (bending the little finger) |
| 2 | <i>éri-wo</i> (bending the ring finger)
two-F |
| 3 | <i>éri-naguáre</i> (bending the middle finger)
two-one |
| 4 | <i>éri-eridáre</i> (bending the index finger)
two-two |
| 5 | <i>néwo-gáago</i> (clenching left fist)
hand-side |
| 6 | <i>néwo-gáago nagiáre</i> (bending the right little finger)
hand-side one |
| 7 | <i>néwo-gáago éridare</i> (bending right ring finger)
hand-side two |
| 8 | <i>néwo-gáagoéri-naguare</i> (bending right middle finger) |
| 9 | <i>néwo-gáago éri-eridare</i> (bending right index finger)
hand-side two-two |
| 10 | <i>néwo-wa sugéri</i> (clapping two hands in front of the breast)
hand-PL both |
| 11 | <i>néwo-wa sugéri mútero</i> (touching left little toe)
hand-PL both one |
| 15 | <i>néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago</i> (touching left big toe)
hand-PL both hand-side |
| 16 | <i>néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago nagiáre</i> (touching right little toe)
hand-PL both hand-side one |
| 20 | <i>nágia-ga íragiro</i>
one-POSS body |
| 21 | <i>nágia-ga íragiro mútero</i>
one-POSS body one |
| 30 | <i>nágia-ga íragiro néwo-wa sugéri</i>
one-POSS body hand-PL both |
| 40 | <i>eridá-ga iragíro</i>
two-POSS body |

100	<i>néwo-gáagua-ga íragíro</i>	
	hand-side-POSS	body
100	<i>natído-rago</i>	
	bundle.of.hundred.sticks-one	
200	<i>natído</i>	<i>éri-wo</i>
	bundle.of.hundred.sticks	two-F
1000	<i>nipído-rago</i>	
	bundle.of.ten.natído-one	
2000	<i>nipído</i>	<i>ériwo</i>
	bundle.of.ten.natído	two

Gestures tend to accompany the use of the numerals. The system is rapidly being replaced by Malay numerals. The numerals occur after the noun and before the adjective:

- (3.95)(el.) *bído éri-naguáre mawágo*
 pig two-one big
 three big pigs

3.8 Postpositions

A number of postpositional clitics express semantic relations of peripheral NPs to the predicate (see §4.1.2). So far I have found *-wai* 'to(wards)', *-tewe* 'from', *-woide* 'from', *-qai* 'in, at', *-wo* 'in, at', *-ra* 'to, for', *-(u)ru* 'with' and *-go*, a general circumstantial postposition occurring with time, instrument, manner and place nominals. Here I give just two examples. See Chapter 4, Syntax, for more details.

- (3.96) *Irarói-go sé-ra.*
 quick-CIRC go-IMP.SG
 Go quickly!
- (3.97) *Gáago-wo dópis ewái ísi-we-ge-rita-re obapasa ewái.*
 side-at chamber this.F fill-3S-do-HAB-PAST gunpowder this.F
 At the side they used to fill the chamber with gunpowder.

3.9 Conjunctions

The topic marker *-qe(de)* (or sometimes *-qa*) cliticizes to clauses and nouns. When it is a clause clitic it functions as a subordinating conjunction with adverbial and relative clauses (see §4.2.4):

- (3.98) *Sídepa-o mé-i-de-qe nári nésiror-i-go.*
 Japanese-PL 3.S-descend-PAST-SUB I little-M-CIRC
 When the Japanese came, I was a little boy.

When *-qe* occurs in the transcribed texts with nominals that express the time, place participant framework for the utterance, the clitic is glossed as TOP (topic):

- (3.99) *Qówewao-wasu qówewao me-rúqawu-rita-re móte*
 man.side-these man.side 3.S-come.together-HAB-PAST there

me-qé-rita + a íwaqe + qotoqówatro órewo-qe
 3.S-speak-HAB ah so child.F woman-TOP

níqai-wé-wore-be qeqúqu-wasu + ábo-go
 follow-3.S-agree-PRES parent.PL-these tomorrow-CIRC

qoqó-bido + núawu-ego-bido áreto. #
 put-1PL.INC.ADH collect-cause-1PL.INC.ADH thing

The man's people hold a meeting and there the parents agree about the daughter and (say), 'let us tomorrow collect the (bridal) payment'.

The coordinating conjunction (-)ere, with elided form (-)re after stem-final vowels and -de after stem-final /i/, coordinates noun phrases and clauses.

- (3.100) *mírago-ere náto-ere*
 machete-and knife-and
 a machete and a knife

- (3.101)(el.) *nó-opo-be-re né-ri-be-re né-re-be*
 1SG.S-take.a.bath-PRES-and 1SG.S-eat-PRES-and 1SG.S-sleep-PRES
 I took a bath, ate and slept.

Although (-)ere almost always cliticizes to the noun phrases and clauses that it coordinates, it does not always cliticize:

- (3.102) *Qéro-we-igo-re-re + ne-wígi-da-wo me-rá-wi-de +*
 ear-3.S-think-PAST-and my-breast.M-POSS-CONN 3.S-1SG.O-give-PAST
medalye + mútero + ere méida-ra naguware. #
 medal one and table-for one
 They judged and gave me one medal for my breast and one to stand on the table.

The conjunctions *tígo* 'so', *agó* 'and, but', *ewáíwa/máíwa/mai* 'and; next' and the Malay loan conjunctions *baru* 'and', *jadi* 'therefore; and so; so', *terus* 'next; and', *tapi* 'but' *atau* 'or' and *suda* 'allright, and, next' have various discourse connective functions. For examples and more details on their discourse functions, see §4.3.2.

Two temporal conjunctions are -de 'still' for (partially) overlapping events and -dara 'until' when the first event goes on until the second starts, for example:

- (3.103) *Suqó-wai gé-rawe-rita-re gó-u-rita gó-u-rita-de*
 sago-this.F.SG 1PL.INC-go-HAB-and 1PL.INC-fell-HAB 1PL.INC-fell-HAB-still

suqó-wai mú-uwe-rita.

sago-this.F.SG 3SG-become.dark-HAB

We would go to fell sago and while still felling the sago palm, it would become dark.

- (3.104) *Mé-se-i ewáíwa + oo gíre-wo-wo é-ra we-qáwa-re*
 3.S-go-PAST.M and oh long-be.3.SG.F-CONN 3SG-for 3.S-wait-PAST
mé-se-i-dara-wo + mé-se-i mé-se-i
 3.S-go-PAST.M-until-CONN 3.S-walk-PAST.M 3.S-walk-PAST.M

mé-se-i ewáíwa + nóe-we-i-di. #
 3.S-walk-PAST.M and go.out-3.S-descend-PAST.M
 And he went and oh a very long time they waited and waited for him and
 he went on and on and he arrived.

3.10 Connectives and ligatures

Inanwatan has a possessive connective (-) *agá* in possessive noun phrases that links the pre-nominal possessor noun to the possessed headnoun:

- (3.105) *Jadi suda órewo agá aibá- sero íko-we-ge-i.*
 therefore allright woman POSS voice-word follow-3.S-do-PAST.M
 Therefore he followed the instructions of the woman.

The connective (-) *agá* also occurs with demonstrative or numeral modifiers when they occur prenominally (normally these modifiers occur postnominally):

- (3.106) *ósoi-d-aga méqaro*
 that.M.SG-TR-POSS house
 that house
- (3.107) *nági-aga íragiro*
 one-POSS body
 twenty(=one body)

There is a number of occurrences of the morpheme *-wo* in the texts that have been glossed as CONN (connective). This *-wo* seems to be different from the nominalizing morpheme *-wo* (see §3.3.3), the 3SG feminine form *-wo* of the copular verb *ra-* (see §3.4) and the locative postposition *-wo* (see §4.1.2). The function of the connective *-wo* is not clear. Consider this example:

- (3.108) *Qequqú-wo qaqó-wo tíi-we-ge-re + áibo-wo ra-y-áigo*
 parent.PL-CONN child-CONN silent-3.S-do-PAST voice-CONN say-TR-NEG
áwero-go nígé-ro-rita-wo + áibo-wo na-y-aigo. #
 up-CIRC 1PL.S-row-DUR-CONN voice-CONN make-TR-NEG
 Both the parents and the children were silent and did not speak, although
 above (they called), we are rowing, they did not speak.

3.11 Question clitics and question words

Polar questions are marked by rising intonation and the optional sentence-final polar question clitic *-qe* (sometimes *-e*), (3.109)–(3.78).

- (3.109) *Mútero-go gé-reqa-sa-e?*
 one-CIRC 1PL.INC.S-go.PL-FUT-Q
 Shall we go together?
- (3.110)(el.) *Qotoqóware me-parea-i qé-rita-wo-qe?*
 child.M 3.S-know-PAST.M read-HAB-NOM-Q
 Could the boy read?

Usually just rising intonation is used to mark utterances as polar questions as in the following dialogue:

- (3.111) Murray:
Ebaro-wo?
 close-be.3SG.F
 In the vicinity?
 Yunus:
Ebaro-wo!
 close-be.3SG.F
 In the vicinity!
 Murray:
I-woi ao?
 be-that.F.SG wood
 Is there wood?

Content questions are marked by rising intonation and a question word that is often but not always fronted. Consider the following dialogue:

- (3.112) Murray:
I-wái-qa nawórau-woide? éwo-go?
 be-this.F.SG-? where-from when-CIRC
 Where did you recently return from? When?
 Yunus:
Ah nígé-ta-re + tigó #
 ah 1PLEXC-PL-go-PAST so
 We went allright.
 Murray:
Ewo-go gé-ta-re?
 when-CIRC 2PL-go-PAST
 When did you go?
 Yunus:
Masut + Mateia-wasu hari Rabu m-éta-re + agó-rari
 goal Matius-they day Wednesday 3SG-go-PAST and-I
hari Kamis qái-ré-ta-re +
 day Thursday follow-1SG-go-PAST
 I mean, Matius they went on Wednesday, but I followed on Thursday .

The following question words occur in the data:

- (3.113) *awétio* who
arétero what
aréte-ra why (what-for)
arétero-go with what
éwo-go when

<i>nawórau-woide</i>	from where
<i>naworau-wo</i>	where
<i>naworau-wai</i>	(to) where
<i>náge</i>	how

Awétio 'who' and *arétero* 'what' function as unmarked core constituents (see Chapter 4) with subject and object functions:

(3.114) *Awétio mé-wo-bi?*
 who 3.S-come-PRES
 Who just came?

(3.115) *Awétio mé-qobo-re?*
 who 3.S-hit-PAST
 Who did they hit?

(3.116)(el.) *Arétero é-turo-sa?*
 what 2SG.S-buy-FUT
 What are you going to buy?

The other question words have peripheral functions like instrument, place, time. The postpositions marking peripheral nominals (Chapter 4) like *-wai* 'to(wards)', *-wo* 'in, at', *-woide* 'from', also mark peripheral question words. Examples:

(3.117) *Aréte-ra e-róe-sa Segéi-wai?*
 what-for 2SG.S-descend-FUT Segei-to
 Why do you want to go to Segei?

(3.118) *Sébato-ra.*
 shrimp-for
 To catch shrimps

(3.119) *A-qide naworau-wo?*
 your-father where-at
 Where is your father?

(3.120)(el.) *Náge wé-ge-bi?*
 how 3.S-make-PRES
 How did he make it?

4 Syntax

The clauses and phrases occurring in the texts that I transcribed tend to be simply structured (as in (4.1) and (4.2)) and this makes it difficult to give general formulae describing the possible orders of constituents of clauses and phrases.¹

(4.1) *Né-re-be.*

1SG.S-sleep-PRES

I (just) slept.

(4.2) *Tégi-sai me-tára-rita-bi íraroi-biai mi-ráwo-rita-bi-re*

sun-this.M. 3S-shine-HAB-SG.M quick-very 3S-come.up-HAB-SG.M-and

mé-i-rita-bi. #

3S-descend-HAB-SG.M

When the sun shone, it used to rise and set very quickly.

First, clause types and clause constituents are discussed (§4.1). Then we turn to clause combinations (§4.2), discourse conjunctions and other devices to link sentences (§4.3) and finally to noun phrases (§4.4).

4.1 The clause

4.1.1 Clause types

There are at least four clause types, locative-existential clauses (*i*-DEM S Loc), attributive-equative clauses (S P-*ra*), transitive clauses (SOV/SVO) and intransitive clauses (S V).

Locative-existential clauses have as first constituent the invariable predicative element *i*- ‘to be’ with demonstrative clitics attached to it that (cross)refer to the subject. Then follows the subject NP and a locative nominal predicate:

(4.3) *I-woi bído Báradara úrago?*

be-that.F pig Netherlands place

Are there pigs in the Netherlands?

¹ The data are written in phonemes represented by the graphemes given in the Grapheme Table (see §2.4). Notice that the orthographic decision to write the allophones of /m/ and /r/ (see Chapter 2) means that for example the third person subject prefix *me*- is written sometimes as *we*- and sometimes as *me*- depending on its pronunciation.

- (4.4) *I-wasu mai-wo-go.*
 be-these here-CONN-CIRC
 They are here.

When there is no location expressed, the clause predicates the presence or existence of the subject:

- (4.5) *I-wasu méside-o?*
 be-these person-PL
 Are there people?

Attributive-equative clauses (S P-*ra*) have non-verbal predicates expressing possession, attribution and equation (see §3.4.7 for examples). These clauses contain the copular verb *-ra*, a special verb with irregular forms which express only person, number and gender (see §3.4.7). The copular verb cliticizes to predicative adjectives and nouns. The predicate is the only obligatory constituent in this clause type.

- (4.6) *Badá-o-wo!*
 bad-F-be.3SG.F
 It is bad!

Intransitive clauses (S V) have intransitive verbs as their heads, for example the verbs *tára-* 'to shine', *ráwo-* 'to come up' and *i-* 'to descend' in example (4.2). The verb is the only obligatory constituent in the intransitive clause, example (4.1)

A special subtype of intransitive clauses is based on experiential verbs, intransitive verbs that take a bodypart as their first argument and express emotional and physical experiences. Because the bodypart argument is always subject, the verb is always a third person form. The verb and the bodypart NP are both obligatory constituents in the experiential intransitive clause:

- (4.7) *Ná-ger-e me-tutú-rita-bi.*
 my-ear-M 3.S-hurt-DUR-3SG.M
 I (male) have pain in my ear.
- (4.8) *Qótoqowar-e mír-i mé-sowate-bi.*
 child-M belly 3.S-good-3SG.M.PRES
 The boy is glad.

When there is an experiencer NP, it precedes the bodypart subject, as in (4.8).

Transitive clauses (SOV/SVO) have transitive verbs as their heads. The verb is the only obligatory constituent in the transitive clause, (4.9).

- (4.9)(el.) *Ni-á-weigo-re.*
 1SG.S-2SG.O-deceive-PAST
 I deceived you.
- (4.10) *Ao úto úra me-rí-we-be.*
 their fish DEM 3.S-1PLEX.O-give-PRES
 They gave us their fish
- (4.11) *Ní-taturi-dere ní-tató-ere aqíro máqare*
 our-grandfather-and our-grandmother-and foreleg hindleg

mogó-we-rawe-re.

carry-3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST

My grandfather and grandmother carried up the foreleg and the hindleg.

Objects frequently occur after the verb:

- (4.12) *Agó-wai e-rá-qa mé-rabu-ego-i méduro éwai.*
 and-that.F 3SG-from-TOP 3S-hide-CAUS-PAST.M wing that.F
 And he had hidden her wings.

4.1.2 Clause constituents

There are two types of nominal constituents in the Inanwatan clause, core nominals (subject, object) and peripheral nominals. Core nominals are unmarked phrases, i.e. they do not take postpositions, and are cross-referenced by verbal prefixes (see §3.4.1). Peripheral nominals take postpositions and are not cross-referenced in the verb.

The core nominals subject and object are distinguished by order only (subject preceding object). Only in personal pronouns is the opposition between subject and object expressed in the form of the constituents (see §3.1.1).

Peripheral nominals (in all clause types) may occur clause-initially (when they express the time, place or other type of frame for the clause), but also pre- or postverbally when they qualify the event or state denoted by the predicate (for example manner peripherals).

NPs governed by *-go* denote time (4.13, 4.15), place (4.14), instrument (4.15) and manner (4.16). The postposition *-go* is restricted to inanimate NPs and has been glossed as CIRC (circumstantial):

- (4.13) *Máiwo-go + suqá-sero qé-bido. #*
 now-CIRC sago-story tell-IPL.IN.ADH
 Let us now tell the story of the sagotree.

- (4.14) *Air Mati-go wé-qe-rita + mútero-go dáiti gé-ra-rita*
 Air Mati-CIRC 3.S-say-HAB together-CIRC we(IN) 1PL.IN.S-say-HAB

Air Mati sáro-wasu mái-wo-tewe mé-rowo-be + itatábo-wasu. #
 Air Mati multitude-these here-CONN-from 3.S-descend-PRES ancestors-these
 In Air Mati they say, we all call it Air Mati, from there all the ancestors came down.

- (4.15) *Suqó-wai + ibáu-go ewái + deraqóbo-go mó-u-rita-re +*
 sago-this.F formerly-CIRC this.F pointed.stick-CIRC 3S-fell-HAB-PAST
tíra-tira-we-i-rita-re ewáíwa íde-wó-u-rita-re + suqó-wai
 take-take-3S-pierce-HAB-PAST and INTR-3S-fell-HAB-PAST sago-this.F
íbau éwai suqeré-wai me-tetéi-rita-re.
 formerly this.F raw.sago-this.F 3S-cut-HAB-PAST
 Formerly, they used to fell the sagotree with a pointed stick, they pierced it repeatedly and then it would fall and they would cut the sagotree in blocks of raw sago.

- (4.16) *Séro-wai mé-qe-re + íso-we-rego-re sówato-go + baru.*
 word-this.F 3S-speak-PAST.PL ?-3.S-put.down-PAST.PL good-CIRC and
 They spoke thus and organized it well and..

The postposition *-ra* marks both animate (4.17–4.20) and inanimate oblique NPs (4.21–4.23). It has wide range of meanings including ‘about’ (4.17, 4.18), ‘for’ (4.19, 4.21), ‘to’ (4.20) and ‘on’ (4.23).

- (4.17) *Náwe-ra mé-qe-rita-wasu.*
 me-about 3S-talk-HAB-these
 They use to talk about me.
- (4.18) *Do io sé-ra-wo do io sé-ra-wo áwoqe*
 EMPH ADH go-IMP.SG-EMPH EMPH ADH go-IMP.SG-EMPH again
náwe-ra náwe-ra qeré-igo-ra qeré-igo-ra náwe-ra
 me-for me-for ear-think-IMP.SG ear-think-IMP.SG me-for
náwe-ra qeré-igo-ra.
 me-for ear-think-IMP.SG
 Allright, go away, go away but remember me, remember me, remember me.
- (4.19) *E-ra we-qáwa-re.*
 3SG-for 3.S-wait-PAST
 They waited for him.
- (4.20) *E-ra mé-qe-re.*
 3SG-to 3.S-say-PAST
 She said to him.
- (4.21) *Mái-ra we-se-re.*
 this-for 3.S-go-PAST
 She looked for it. (lit. she went for it)
- (4.22) *medalye mútero méida-ra naguáre*
 medal one table-for one
 one medal for the table
- (4.23) *Ewi sídero máiwa qeqído-wo + sídero-wa naqíde we-ra-re*
 but parrot next not-be.3.SG.F parrot-this quickly 3.S-take-PAST
máqo-wai-re qékaqe ái-ra me-qáa-re. #
 sago.pounder-this.F-and cockatoo head-on 3.S-pound.sago-PAST
 But the parrot said, No, and quickly took the sago pounder and pounded the
 cockatoo on he head.

The postpositions *-tewe*, *-woide* and *-qede* mark point of departure:

- (4.24) *Patipi-wo-tewe wé-de-wo-re.*
 Patipi-CONN-from 3S-go.across-come-PAST.PL
 They came across from Patipi.
- (4.25) *Mé-de-wo-i ewáíwa + muró-wai mura-gárebo-wai +*
 3S-go.across-come-PAST.SGM and river-this.F river-mouth-this.F

ura-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo Nawétira-wo máiwo-qede
DEM-this.F Sartubir Nawétira-at Nawétira-at here-from

mura-gárebo jadi mái-wo-qede máso-we-ge-i. #
river-mouth therefore here-CONN-from enter-3S-do-PAST.SG.M

He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir so from here he entered.

- (4.26) *I-wái-qa nawórau-woide?*
be-this.F.SG-TOP where-from
Where did you recently return from?

The postposition *-wo* and *-qai* 'in, at, on' mark locative relations:

- (4.27) *Gáago-wo dópis ewái ísi-we-rita-re obapasa ewái.*
side-at chamber this.F fill-3S-HAB-PAST.PL gunpowder this.F
At the side they used to fill the chamber with gunpowder.
- (4.28) *síra-gao-wo*
boiling water-inside-in
in the boiling water
- (4.29) *Ariqíware-sai + awéra-qaqábo-wa + mírago méwo-wo*
Ariqíware-this.M grandfather-grandmother-these machete hand-in
wé-ge-re + mé-era-re sé-ra. #
3.S-do-PAST 3.S-say-PAST go-IMP.SG
As for Ariqíware, the forefathers put a machete in his hand and they told him to go.
- (4.30) *Iro túgarido íra-séro qé-bido mó-uwu-ge*
gong inheritance gong-word speak-1PL.IN.ADH 3.S-sit-PAST
Gíririfo-qai. #
Giririfo-in
Let us tell the story of the inherited gong which is in Giririfo.
- (4.31) *Ewáíwa terus + mó-uwo-i-re + mó-uwu-i*
and next 3.S-come.upriver-PAST.SG.M-and 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.M
nusíro úra mó-uwu-ge Sorowáto gárebo-qai. #
island DEM 3.S-sit-PAST.PL Solowat mouth-at
And when he had come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled opposite the Solowat rivermouth.

The postposition *-wai* 'to(wards)' marks goal or direction:

- (4.32) *Awoge pinda-ré-ge-re síkorao-wai + Qódeqari-wai. #*
again move-1 SG-do-PAST school-this.F Odeqari-to
I moved again to the school, to Odeqari.
- (4.33) *Aréte-ra e-róe-sa Segéi-wai?*
what-for 2SG.S-descend-FUT Segei-to
Why do you want to go to Segei?

- (4.34) *Ná-wai mo-ra!*
 me-to come-IMP.SG
 Come to me!

I have found the comitative postposition (-)uru so far only with personal pronouns (see §3.8).

4.2 Clause combinations

Multiverb constructions and clause combining strategies will be discussed in the order of decreasing morphosyntactic integration.

4.2.1 Compound verbs and complex phrasal verbs

Verb roots can be combined in compound verb stems like *dewo-* ‘to come across’ in (4.35) and in complex phrasal verbs like *mógo-we-wo-re* in (4.36):

- (4.35) *Wé-de-wo-re.*
 3.S-go.across-come-PAST
 They came across.
- (4.36) *Suqére mógo-we-wo-re.*
 sago carry-3.S-come-PAST
 She brought sago.

The verbs *de-* and *wo-* are phonologically and morphologically integrated in the compound verb *dewo-* but in phrasal verbs there is only phonological integration. For example, *mógo-* ‘to carry’ in (4.36) is phonologically one word with the inflected second verb. A sign that these phrasal verb combinations form phonological words is the stress pattern, the bare verb root attracts the main word stress and the second inflected verb receives secondary stress. Another sign is that the /m/ of the subject prefix *me-* is always realized by its intervocalic allophone [w]. The fact that the subject and object prefixes separate the bare verb from the following inflected verb signals that there is no morphological integration of the two verbs, in contrast with compound verbs. Complex phrasal verbs frequently occur in the texts (see Appendix 2), both with two Inanwatan verbs and with a Malay loan or code mix followed by an inflected form of *ge-* ‘to do’ (see §1.3).

4.2.2 Clausal arguments of verbs

Perception and cognition verbs have finite object clauses immediately following the verbs. There are no complementisers or any other formal markings of the complement nature of the clause. An alternative analysis would be to view these clauses as asyndetically linked coordinated clauses that are pragmatically interpreted as goals of the preceding perception verbs.

- (4.37) *Mai wi-átuge-re + tapi qido-wo morá-y-aigo +*
 this.F 3S-fire-PAST.PL but not-be.3SG.F hit-TR-NEG

me-wo-re-wo mó-ura-re mé-roda-re árasau-go. #
 3S-come-PAST.PL-CONN 3S-see-PAST.PL 3S-run-PAST.PL fright-CIRC
 They fired but they did not hit and they (Namora's people) came and saw
 that they (=the Inanwatan killing party) had fled with fright.

The object clause *mérodare árasau-go* in (4.37) has no complementiser or any other formal indication of its syntactic function.

Another strategy to express clausal arguments is to use nominalizations (see §3.3.3). For example:

- (4.38)(el.) *U-rita-wo párea-y-aigo*
 swim-HAB-NOM know-TR-not
 He cannot swim.

4.2.3 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses consist of the non-finite purposive verb form with *-beqewu* (SG)/*-birowu* (PL) (see §3.4.6). They may precede (4.39) or follow (4.40) the main verb:

- (4.39) *Jadi suda + póra-séro wé-ge-re mutáu-birowu. #*
 therefore allright conspiracy-word 3.S-do-PAST.PL kill-in.order.to.PL
 Therefore, allright, they made plans to kill him.

- (4.40) *Mai rebái-birowu + aréqara-gai + méida-gai + máge*
 this.F ascend-in.order.to.PL door-price table-price thus
mogó-wé-de-rita. #
 carry-3.S-cross-HAB
 In order to enter, they carry across the price of the door and of the table.

4.2.4 Relative and adverbial clauses

Clauses marked by the topic marker/subordinator *-qe(de)* (see §3.9) may be interpreted either as a relative clause (4.41) or an adverbial clause (4.42). Clauses that modify nouns (relative clauses) always follow the head noun and do not have pronouns coreferential with the head noun.

- (4.41) *A óti míogagoi bidó ewái ge-rágo-be-qe + mé-ri-be*
 ah also in.return pig this.F 1PL.IN.S-pierce-PRES-SUB 3.S-eat-PRES
mé-igo-be + baru awogé mé-ri-de íwaqe í-woi
 3.S-vomit-PRES and again 3.S-eat-PAST allright be-that.F.SG
e-rádara nigé-ge-be + ní-sa-be + óti míogagoi úto
 3PL-for 1PLEX.S-do-PRES eat-FUT-3PL also in.return fish
úra me-rí-we-be ní-ra-e míqa-da. #
 DEM 3.S-1PLEX.O-give-PRES eat-IMP-PL ADH-EMPH
 Ah, also, in return, they ate the pig which we speared and they vomited,
 allright we left it for them to eat and also, in return, they gave us this fish,
 'you must try and eat it'.

- (4.42) *Paráto me-geráe-rita-qede né-se-sa.*
 rain 3S-descend-HAB-SUB 1SG.S-go-FUT
 Although it is raining, I want to go. (Given that it rains, I want to go.)

Clauses may function as relative clauses without any overt marking. Compare *níiti nige-rágo-be* in (4.43):

- (4.43) *Iyó míroqai-webe tigó-wo + áruqo qai-nigé-rowo-be +*
 yes true-be it-be.3.SG.F blood.F follow-1PLEX.S-come.down-PRES
a áruqo qai-nigé-rowo-be mé-ra-re tígoúra-wai
 ah blood follow-1PLEX.S-come.down-PRES 3.S-lay-PAST so DEM-this.F
tígo-wo níiti nige-rágo-be náiti ne-rágo-be
 so-be.3SG.F we 1PLEX.S-pierce-PRES I 1SG.S-pierce-PRES
níro-go isíbowo. #
 night-CIRC sago.bait
 Yes, that is true, we followed the bloodtrail and it lay dead which we speared,
 which I speared at night at the sagobait.

In (4.44) *-qe* functions as a topic marker that cliticizes to the head of the relative clause:

- (4.44) *Jadi bidó-qe iwáa-go me-rágo-re + me-téte-re*
 therefore pig-TOP yesterday-CIRC 3.S-pierce-PAST 3.S-cut-PAST
ewái mugó-reqa-y-aigo. #
 this.F carry-walk.PL-TR-NEG
 Therefore the pig which they had speared and slaughtered the day before,
 they did not carry it away.

In the context of Papuan languages it not unexpected to have adverbial and relative clauses expressed by the same form (e.g. Korowai, van Enk & de Vries 1997:114–115), and also to have the same marker with topical noun phrases and adverbial/relative subordinate clauses (e.g. Usan, Reesink 1987, Kombai, de Vries 1993).

4.2.5 Coordination

The coordinating conjunction *-ere* coordinates nouns (4.45) and clauses (4.46) in a semantically open way. In coordination of nouns the conjunction cliticizes to each member of the coordination, in clause coordination only to the first member (*me-wága-rita-i-re* in (4.46)). Asyndetic coordination of clauses is more frequent than clausal coordination with *-ere*. Coordinated clauses are not constituents of other clauses, and they can stand on their own.

- (4.45) *Máiwa + táu-go-wai + seribusembilanbelasempatpuluhdua mulai*
 next year-this.F 1942 begin
píca-wé-ge-re + mí-ado-re + Báradaro-ere Sidepao-ere. #
 burst-3S-do-PAST 3S-make.war-PAST Netherlands-and Japan-and
 But in the year 1942 the war between the Dutch and the Japanese broke out.

- (4.46) *Mái-wo ura-sai tigó + mírago mé-qobo-rita táwaro sósorao-wo*
 this-at DEM-this.M there machete 3S-hit-DUR.PL axe spear-CONN
orówo + ádawao + mái-wo ura me-wága-rita-i-re
 lance harpoon this-at DEM 3S-make-DUR-PAST.SG.M-and
dáro itatábo-wasu túkari-we-rita-i + suqére-go
 our.IN ancestors-these exchange-3S-DUR-PAST.SG.M sago-with
wé-iba-rita-i + ererau-wasu nábawo wé-we-rita-re. #
 3S-trade-DUR-PAST.SG.M other-these slave 3S-give-DUR-PAST.PL
 And there he welded machetes, axes, fishing spears, lances and harpoons,
 there he made them and traded them with our ancestors for sago, other people
 gave slaves.

4.3 Linking sentences; discourse conjunctions

The multi verb sentences in the Inanwatan text corpus are linked by a number of devices. The most important are tail-head linkage, generic verb linkage and linkage with discourse conjunctions.

4.3.1 Tail-head linkage and generic verb linkage

Tail-head recapitulation² is frequently used in Inanwatan texts to link sentences, as a continuity device, especially in narrative texts. The recapitulated 'head' clause is a coordinate clause usually linked to the next clause with the proximate demonstrative *ewáíwa* ('here; now'; see §3.2)) as in (4.48). Sentences (4.47)–(4.49) are from the opening section of the Nawora text (see Appendix 2, Texts).

- (4.47) *Nawóra aga séro túgarido + né-qe-rita + Nawóra esái*
 Nawora POSS story inheritance 1SG.S-speak-DUR Nawora this.M
Patipi-wotewe wé-de-wo-re. #
 Patipi-from 3S-go.across-come-PAST.PL
 I am telling the history of Nawora, as for Nawora, they came across from Patipi.
- (4.48) *Mé-de-wo-i ewáíwa + muró-wai mura-gárebo-wai +*
 3S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M and river-this.F river-mouth-this.F
ura-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo Nawétira-wo máíwo-qede
 DEM-this.F Sartubir Nawétira-at Nawétira-at here-from

² The term tail-head linkage is from Thurman (1975). It refers to a phenomenon which is 'extremely common in Papuan languages, especially in narrative texts. Such texts are littered with dozens of examples of this usage' (Foley 1986:201). Longacre (1972:45) has described the phenomenon as follows: 'Commonly the function of the first base in such chaining units is to refer back to the last base of the previous chain. If the chain structures as a paragraph, then such back-reference or recapitulation joins paragraph to paragraph.'

mura-gárebo jadi máiwo-qede máso-we-ge-i. #
 river-mouth so here-from enter-3S-do-PAST.SG.M
 He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir
 he entered.

- (4.49) *Ewáíwa terus + mo-uwo-i-re + mó-uwu-i*
 and next 3S-come.upriver-PAST.SG.M-and 3S-sit-PAST.SG.M
nusíro úra mó-uwu-ge Sorowáto gárebo-qai. #
 island DEM 3S-sit-PAST.PL Solowat mouth-at
 And when he had come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled
 opposite the Solowat rivermouth.

The connection (4.48/49) shows that *ewáíwa* is also used to connect sentences without recapitulation.

Instead of repeating the verb of the last clause of the previous sentences as the first verb of the next sentences, the generic verb *mágerere* may be used to link sentences as in (4.50). *Máge(rere)* most likely derives from *mai* 'here, this.F', the verb *ge-* 'to do', the Past suffix *-re* and the coordinator *-re* 'and'.

- (4.50) *Má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re + duqúrewé ériwo +*
 thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and bird.PL two
qeqéi-d-ere atau qékaqe-re sído-ere sídero-wa
 white.cockatoo-TR-and or cockatoo-and red.parrot-and parrot-this
sídero ewáíwa qékaqe-wa mé-ra-i qáa-bido. #
 parrot and cockatoo-this 3.S-say-PAST.M pound.sago-1PL.IN.ADH
 This being so, there were two birds, a cockatoo and a parrot and the cockatoo
 said to the parrot, let us pound sago.

4.3.2 Discourse conjunctions

Besides tail-head linkage and generic verb linkage Inanwatan employs a closed set of discourse conjunctions consisting of the Inanwatan conjunctions *ewáíwa/maiwa/mai* 'and, next', *agó* 'and, but', *tígo* 'so, thus' and the Malay loan conjunctions *tapi* 'but', *atau* 'or' *suda* 'next, alright, and so', *baru* 'and, next', *jadi* 'therefore; and so; so' and *terus* 'next; and'. The Malay discourse conjunctions combine with each other and with the Inanwatan conjunctions, for example in (4.49) *terus* is used together with *ewáíwa*.

The conjunctions *ewáíwa/maiwa/mai* 'and, next', *agó* 'and, next' and *baru* 'and, next' are sequencing conjunctions. I have not yet been able to determine their relationships, for example in terms of the nature or force of the sequentiality they express. The conjunction *agó* (sometimes *ágo*) is exemplified by (4.51):

- (4.51) *Agó mé-qaqo-i-de mé-era-rita-i + qotoqówaro*
 and 3S-face-PAST.SG.M-and 3S-say-DUR-PAST.SG.M daughter
owói íqo-ra-e na-wáo-go. #
 that.F put.down-IMP-PL my-wife-CIRC
 And he faced (them) and said, that girl, you must give her to me as my wife.

In (4.52) *baru* is used medially to express sequence of events, and in (4.53) initially as a sequential sentence-linker:

- (4.52) *Séro-wai mé-qe-re + íso-we-rego-re sówato-go +*
 word-this.F 3S-speak-PAST.PL ?-3S-put.down-PAST.PL good-CIRC
baru otau-wai mó-u-ge + mé-igo-re-re +
 and sago.species-this.F 3S-fell-PAST.PL 3S-remove.bark-PAST.PL-and
bidó iro we-qúgo-re + fúgido we-sée-re + mógo-we-reqa-re
 pig body 3S-cut-PAST.PL banana 3S-cut-PAST.PL carry-3S-walk.PL-PAST.PL
Múguro néwago má-wai mé-ra-re + baru + owáqepo
 Múguro harbour thus-this.F 3S-take-PAST.PL and stairs
egéqiro mé-soro-re owáqepo-wai gábo-go mé-itoqo-re. #
 bridge 3S-plant-PAST.PL stairs-this.F decoration-CIRC 3S-decorate-PAST.PL
 They spoke thus and organized it well and they felled sago trees, removed the bark, butchered a pig, cut bananas and brought it to the Mugur harbor, constructed a bridge and decorated it.
- (4.53) *Baru + mírago sówato mé-we-rita-i táwaro sówato +*
 next machete good 3S-give-DUR-PAST.SG.M steel.axe good
buat mogóqo áreto wé-ra-rita-re itatábo iówosu. #
 for for thing 3S-make-DUR-PAST.PL ancestors those
 And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.

The conjunctions *tígo* and *jadi* express consequence ('and so, and therefore') rather than just neutral sequence. They may have reason and cause interpretations.

Tígo 'so, thus' is used in example (4.54):

- (4.54) *Tígo máge mé-era-rita-re + mé-se-rita-i má-ge-re-re*
 so thus 3SG-say-DUR-PAST 3S-go-DUR-PAST.M thus-do-PAST-and
má-ge-re-re a + ógora soqúwai mo-óte-be ewáíwa +
 thus-do-PAST-and ah Q long 3SG-be.ill-PRES next
mé-era-i áreqaro náwe-ídio-ra. #
 3S-say-PAST.M door open-stand-IMP.SG
 Because she said so, he went and having thought 'oh, how long is she ill!', he said, 'open the door!'.
Jadi occurs in (4.55):

- (4.55) *Agó-iri ga gó-ura-rita ewái ná-qide jadi*
 and-you(PL) POSS 2PL.S-sce-HAB this.F my-father therefore
nóe-bido ewáíwa + méqaro-wo na-qíde-sai +
 go.out-1PL.IN.ADH and house-in my-father-this.M
búisa-wo úra-ra. #
 can-CONN see-IMP.SG
 And what you use to see is my father, therefore, let us show ourselves and you can see my father in the house.

Tapi is an explicitly adversative and contrastive discourse conjunction, (4.56):

- (4.56) *Mai wi-átuge-re + tapi qido-wo morá-y-aigo +*
 this.F 3S-fire-PAST.PL but not-be.3SG.F hit-TR-NEG
me-wo-re-wo mó-ura-re mé-roda-re árasau-go. #
 3S-come-PAST.PL-CONN 3S-see-PAST.PL 3S-run-PAST.PL fright-CIRC
 They fired but they did not hit and they (Namora's people) came and saw
 that they (=the Inanwatan killing party) had fled with fright.

Example (4.57) shows the use of *suda*. Its functions are hard to pin down. Often it is used as a pause device/speaker continuation device that can be glossed as 'allright' or 'allright and next ...':

- (4.57) *Mé-roda-ri-y-aigo suda + a mé-rowo-i*
 3S-run-not.be-TR-NEG allright ah 3S-come.down-PAST.SG.M
ewáíwa + qaqó-wa me-súsa-re arubu we-súsa-re
 and child-this 3S-trouble-PAST.PL relative 3S-trouble-PAST.PL
qégi-sai úra nádoro mé-rowo-re-re nárere-wai
 father-this.M DEM again 3S-come.down-PAST.PL-and magic-this.F
mé-ra-re. #
 3S-take-PAST.PL
 While they were fleeing, he (Namora) came down and his children lamented,
 his relatives were in sorrow and seeing (their) father, they returned and
 performed magic.

Terus 'and, next' expresses speaker continuation ('I am going on to tell you the next thing'), (4.49). Notice how *terus* is used in exactly the same way in the local Malay text in Appendix, Part C.

Atau expresses alternative conjunction:

- (4.58) *Me-rápago-rita-re ewáíwa + a acara kedua me-bírowu*
 3S-distribute-HAB-PAST and ah ceremony second give-for.PL
súrurato mé-we-rita + atau mísidao me-bái-rita + séro-go +
 letter 3S-give-HAB or people 3S-send-HAB word-CIRC
mé-era-rita mé-de-wo-rita ídawuqai-ra + ewáo-go
 3S-say-HAB 3S-cross-come-HAB clock-for late.afternoon-CIRC
mogó-rige-de-wo-sa. #
 carry-1PL.EX-cross-come-FUT
 When they (=man's people) have paid (the bridal payment), ah, the second
 ceremony, in order to give, they (=man's people) send a letter or send people
 with the word that they will come in the late afternoon to bring across (the
 bride).

4.4 Noun phrases

Noun phrases are distinct from compound nouns (see §3.3.4). In noun compounds a modifying noun stem precedes a modified noun stem under one stress contour. When the modifying noun stem is a feminine noun ending in /o/ (the large majority of nouns), the final vowel becomes /a/ in the compound noun, for example:

- (4.59) *íro* gong
 séro word
 ira-séro story about a gong

In noun phrases the constituents are not brought under one stress contour, as in (4.60) where the possessor noun *órewo* modifying the possessed (compound) head noun *aibaséro* retains its lexical stress and the final /o/ of modifying feminine nouns does not change into /a/:

- (4.60) *Jadi suda órewo agá aiba-séro íko-we-ge-i.*
 so allright woman POSS voice-word follow-3S-do-PAST.M
 So, allright, he followed the instructions of the woman.

Noun phrases seem to have the following general structure:

+/- possessor N/PRO + N(-dem enclitic) +/- NUM +/- ADJ +/- DEM

A noun phrase combining a numeral and an adjective did not occur in the texts but only in the data elicited through Malay (see below, numerals). I have no examples of noun phrases with a numeral, plus an adjective plus a demonstrative nor of noun phrases with a possessor plus a numeral and/or adjective. Gender plays an important role in the cohesion of the noun phrase. The adjective, numeral and the demonstrative agree with the head noun in gender and number (see Chapter 3).

4.4.1 Possessives

The distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns was discussed in Chapter 3. Inalienable nouns are always prefixed for first and second person possessors, (4.61), while inalienable nouns without prefixes are understood as having third person possessors, (4.62).

- (4.61) *na-qíde-sai*
 my-father-this.M
 my father

- (4.62) *mir-i*
 belly-M
 his belly

Personal pronouns may occur in the possessive NP preceding the possessed noun, (4.63):

- (4.63) *náiti ná-taturi-de ní-tato-wa*
 I my-grandfather-and my-grandmother-this.F
 my grandfather and grandmother

Alienable nouns can be possessed with a noun linked to the head noun with the possessive connective (-) *agá*, an independent word that sometimes cliticizes to preceding possessor

noun, as in (4.64) or with free possessive pronouns that also occur before the head noun, as in (4.65).

- (4.64) *mewóqa-ga qáruqo urá*
 dog.PL-POSS blood DEM
 the blood of dogs

- (4.65) *tigidáe-so suqére*
 his-M sago
 his sago

4.4.2 Demonstratives

Besides their ostensive function, demonstratives function also to express definiteness (identifiability). Most occurrences of demonstratives in the texts are in fact motivated by the expression of definiteness. Consider the following examples from the Nawora text:

- (4.66) *Nawóra aga séro túgarido + né-qe-rita + Nawóra esái*
 Nawora POSS story inheritance 1SG.S-speak-DUR Nawora this.M

Patipi-wotewe wé-de-wo-re. #

Patipi-from 3S-go.across-come-PAST.PL

I am telling the history of Nawora, as for Nawora, they came across from Patipi.

- (4.67) *Mé-de-wo-i ewáíwa + muró-wai mura-gárebo-wai +*
 3S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M and river-this.F river-mouth-this.F

ura-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo Nawétira-wo máíwo-qede
 DEM-this.F Sartubir Nawétira-at Nawétira-at here-from

mura-gárebo jadi máíwo-qede máso-we-ge-i. #

river-mouth therefore here-from enter-3S-do-PAST.SG.M

He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir he entered.

Demonstratives may cliticize to the head noun in their special clitic forms (see Chapter 3) or occur as the final constituent of the noun phrase.

4.4.3 Adjectives

The attributive adjective follows the noun with which it agrees in number and gender (see §3.5).

- (4.68) *Baru + mirago sówato mé-we-rita-i táwaro sówato +*
 next machete good 3S-give-DUR-PAST.SG.M steel.axe good

buat mogóqo áreto wé-ra-rita-re itatábo iówosu #
 for for thing 3S-make-DUR-PAST.PL ancestors those

And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.

4.4.4 Numerals

The numeral (see §3.7) follows the noun and agrees with it in number and gender. In the following example the numeral is followed by a demonstrative (*mésida-e rag-e ésai*):

- (4.69) *Mésida-e rag-e ésai márouru-sai tígo Dúweqau egí-sai +*
 man-M one-M that.M offspring-this.M so Dúweqau father-this.M
méqaro-wo-qede + saa-wai mi-átu-ri-aigo sai-tigo
 house-in-? water-this.F 3S-ascend-not.be-NEG this.M-so
méwoqo-wasu mé-qugo-i. #
 dog-these 3S-cut-PAST.M
 One man with his children, the father of Duweqau, was still in the house and
 while the water rose, the man slaughtered his dogs.

Only in the following elicited example the adjective and the numeral combine in one phrase. Since the Malay stimulus (*tiga babi besar*) has a totally different syntax (NUM N ADJ), chances for Malay interference are small:

- (4.70)(el.) *bído éri-naguware mawágo*
 pig two-one big
 three big pigs

The higher numerals are asyndetic coordinate phrases, as in the following example:

- (4.71) *néwo-wa sugéri néwo-gáago nagiáre* (touching right little toe)
 hand-PL both hand-side one
 sixteen

Most speakers use Malay loan numerals and/or switch to Malay for numeral expressions:

- (4.72) *Mé-ta-i áwoqe mé-wo-i + i-sai*
 3.S-go-PAST.M again 3.S-come-PAST.M be-this.SG.M
mái-wo-qe + áwoqe ru kerédidau n-é-rita duaberas
 now-at-TOP again together.with work 1SG-do-HAB 12
duabelas + Desember + táu-go sembilanbelassembilanpuluhlima +
 12 December year-CIRC 1994
iwái-qa + tígo í-sai mái-wo-qe. #
 now-TOP so be-this.M.SG now-at-TOP
 He went away and returned and he is here now and I work again with him
 this day, December 12th.

4.4.5 Coordination of noun phrases

Noun phrases can be coordinated in two ways, open-ended (non-exhaustive listing), asyndetic noun coordination as in (4.73) and coordination with (-)ere for exhaustive lists of two nouns as in (4.74):

- (4.73) *Máiwa + étiride qeqúqu órewao-wa + a suda me-búqa-rita*
 next wait(?) parent.PL woman.side-these ah allright 3S-write-HAB

áreto ewái + éite-ra pigéro + sidáuqo +
 thing this.F how.many-for earthenware.vessel *kain.blok*
níwariwaro + gárasaqoro + sído-qugoi-werawu nóto +
 plate glass cloth-pieces-? cloth.sarong
máiwa gái-wa mé-rego-rita sidáuqo néwo-wa-sugeri +
 next price-this 3S-put.down-HAB *kain.blok* hand-this-both
pípiiso-wai dua ratus wé-rego-rita + dua ratus ribu +
 money-this.F two hundred 3S-put.down-HAB two hundred thousand
atau satu juta mé-rego-rita surato + máge
 or one million 3S-put.down-HAB letter thus

mái me-qé-rita qówewao-wa móteuwe qéro-we-igo-rita. #
 this.F 3S-speak-HAB man.side-these there ear-3S-think-HAB

Next the parents (of the man) wait until the woman's party, eh, allright, until they write how many things, vessels, *kain blok*, plates, glasses, pieces of cloth and *sarong* cloth (they demand) and they (=woman's people) set the price, 10 *kain blok*, in money two hundred thousand or one million, thus they write in their letter and then the man's side considers (this price).

- (4.74) *Máiwa + táu-go-wai + seribusembilanbelasempatpuluhdua mulai*
 next year-this.F 1942 begin

píca-wé-ge-re + mí-ado-re + Báradaro-ere Sidepao-ere. #
 burst-3S-do-PAST 3S-make.war-PAST Netherlands-and Japan-and
 But in the year 1942 the war between the Dutch and the Japanese broke out.

Appendix 1: Vocabulary

Inanwatan–English

This appendix contains lexical items as found in the texts recorded in Inanwatan, including Malay lexical items used in code switches (with IND after the part of speech abbreviation) and Malay loans (with <IND after the English gloss). Since the majority of the texts were produced by older speakers fluent in Inanwatan, this glossary reflects their usage.

A

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a (INTERJ) ah!</p> <p>ába- (V) to saw</p> <p>abáqare (N) matches</p> <p>abásido (N) morning</p> <p>ábere (N) brains</p> <p>ábiquao (N) spirit;ghost</p> <p>ábo (N) morning</p> <p>abói (N) horsefly</p> <p>abotéira (N) crown (of head)</p> <p>áboto (N) top</p> <p>abugáe (ADJ) light (of weight)</p> <p>abúrate (N) neck</p> <p>acara (N, IND) ceremony</p> <p>ádawao (N) harpoon</p> <p>adée (INTERJ) oh dear! (<IND aduh)</p> <p>ádiro (N) wild chicken</p> <p>adiwáto (N) mirror</p> <p>ádo- (V) to attack; to make war</p> <p>ádo (N) enemy</p> <p>adóo (INTERJ) oh dear (<IND aduh)</p> <p>afiráiro (N) eastwind</p> <p>áfosaro (N) taboo sign</p> <p>ágasa (N) season</p> <p>agáwo (Q) where</p> | <p>agó (CONJ) and; but</p> <p>águstusi (N) August (<IND Agustus)</p> <p>ai (N) skull</p> <p>áibo (N) voice;language</p> <p>áida (ADJ) big; (N) elder brother or sister</p> <p>áirawese- (V) to search</p> <p>ákarewi (N) cheat</p> <p>ámepuro (N, PURAGI) strong wind</p> <p>áo (N) tree; wood</p> <p>áo (N) opening; room</p> <p>áo-ge- (V) to open something</p> <p>Apáguro (N, PROP) Apaguro</p> <p>apápuro (N) a small red fruit</p> <p>ápaqo (N) maize</p> <p>ápaqurido (N) nesthill made by wild chicken</p> <p>apéwo (ADJ) sweet; delicious</p> <p>apírewo (N) saltwater fish</p> <p>ápril (N, IND) April</p> <p>ápriri (N) April (<IND April)</p> <p>aqabáto (N) cape</p> <p>áqawe- (V) to adopt (children); to bring up (children)</p> <p>aqíro (N) foreleg</p> <p>aqo- (V) to fill</p> |
|---|---|

áqorawi (ADJ) hungry
aráqu (N) soul
árarido (N) *kenari* tree
árasau (N) fright
aráu (N) bracelet
arégoi (ADV) also; same
árerí (N) hair (on body, on head)
árete (Q) what (thing)
áreter-aigo (Q) why
áretere (N) whatever
aretéro (Q) what
aréto (N) food; thing; something
Ariqíware (N, PROP) Ariqware
arlóji (N, IND) wristwatch
aro- (PL stem: **tera-**) (V, INTR) to moor
arou-ge- (V, TR) to moor a ship
arowí (N) star
árubu (N) relatives; kin
áruqo (N) blood
asárau (N) hat
aséwo (ADV) maybe; perhaps; possibly
áso (N) head
ásosogau (N) tree marsupial
ata- (V) to stay
atatúri (N) grandfather
atau (CONJ, IND) or
atiqi- (V) to pour out (fluids)
ató (N) mouse
atóri- (V) to rule; to regulate (<IND mengatur)
atu- (V) to board a ship
atu-ge- (V) to put on fire
átubu- (V) to stand in between;
to block passage
áwadido (N) *nibung* tree species
awai- (V) to pull
áweqego- (V) to leave behind
awére (PL **awéraqabo**) (N) grandfather
awéro (PL **awéraqabo**) (N) grandmother
áwero (ADV) up there; high; above
awétewa (Q) who

awetiára (Q) who
awogé (ADV) again
awóto (ADJ) thick
áwugo (N) iron
awúwuri (F **awúwuro**) (N) strength

B

báakuko (N) bench (<IND bangku)
Bábo (N, placename) Bintuni
badáe (ADJ, M) bad
badágo- (V) to make bad; to torment
bái- (V) to send
baik (also: **bái**) (ADJ, IND) good
bápa (N) mister; sir (<IND bapak)
bárabaro (N) antique plate
báradara (ADJ) Dutch (<IND Belanda)
Barádare (N) Dutchman
bárao (N) people; followers
baru (CONJ, IND) and; next
Batúre (N, PROP) Batúre
Bédari (N, placename) Bedare
bégero (N) *nibung* tree species
begitu (ADV, IND) that way; thus
belum (ADV, IND) not yet
Benoni (N, PROP) Benoni
berábo (N) black and white poisonous
sea snake
béraguro (N, PURAGI) great forest
beraqáqabo (N) (sleeping) mat
beráre (N) rainbow
béraro (N) war canoe
berhenti (V, INTR, IND) to stop
béridasi(do) (ADJ) yellow
béro (N) sleeping mat
besar (ADJ, IND) big
Besaró (N, placename) Besam
béto (N) stone (<IND batu)
biasa (ADV, IND) usually
bíbewo (N) thorny sago species
bíbo (N) thorn
bidárare (N) heart

bidó (N) pig
bíisa (ADV) possible; be able to
 (<IND bisa)
bíqo (N) top
birágo (N) blowfly
bíraitó badáwo (N) leprosy
bíta (ADJ) decayed; rotten
-bíái (ADV) very
bobáo (N) young shoots
boqéro (N) boil; ulcer
bowító (N) mucus; lungs
bódeso (ADJ, M) stupid (<IND bodoh)
bódo (N) land
bósairo (N) sago tree subspecies
bótoro (N) bottle (<IND botol)
bówo (N) sago leaf shaft; shaft used in
 sago production
bu (N, IND) older brother
bukan (NEG, IND) not
buku (N, IND) book
buqa- (V) to write
buqúro (N) taro
búbu (N) fish trap
búqaqare (N) pen; pencil
búqo (N) fruit (<IND buah)
búsido (ADJ) naked
búteto (ADJ) little bit

D

dabéro (N) sago leaf stem
dádo (N) leaf
darapa (NUM) eight (<IND delapan)
dáre (N) edible fern
dau (N) sago porridge
Davite (N, PROP) David
dawáo (N) dawáo fruit
Dawérai (N, PROP) name of God
de- (V) to cross; to go across (river, sea,
 street)
debáro (ADJ) close
dengan (PREP, IND) with

deradaqa (N) bottom
deraqóbo (N) pointed stick
déreraro (N) window (<IND jendela)
dério (N) magic chant
dé(e)sa (N) village; head of village
 (<IND (kepala) desa)
desémbor (or: **desemberi**) (N, IND)
 December
Dewarusi (N, placename) Dewarusi
dewo- (V) to come across
didáqoro (N) nipple
dídaro (N) nibung tree; floor
dído (N) breast; milk
dínasidau (N) government department
 (<IND Dinas)
diploma (N, DUTCH/IND) school
 certificate
dodó (ADJ, PL) short
dóokter (N, IND) doctor
dóktore (also: **dóktéri**) (N) doctor (<IND
 dokter)
Dominggus (N, PROP) Dominggus
dópis (N) place for powder in antique
senaphaan rifles
dóqe (INTERJ) oh dear (<IND aduh)
Dówe (N, PROP) name of culture hero;
 Jesus
dówo (ADJ, F) short
du (INTERJ) oh dear (<IND aduh)
dua (NUM, IND) two
duabelas (NUM, IND) twelve
dúrewo (PL: **duqúrewo**) (N) wing; bird
Dúweqau (N, PROP) Dúweqau

E

ebáqoro (N) forehead
ebáwe (ADV) possibly
ebé (N,M) mouth
ebéro (N, PURAGI) wave
ede- (V) to pass
édi- (also: **idi**, PL: **widi**) (V) to stand

edúduri (N) leftside
edúrerido (N) heron
egéqiro (N) bridge; rack
égowaqoqo (N) offspring
ei- (V) to descend
éida (ADV) in just a moment
éiragaqaro (N) *kumbili* yam
éise yes
eité (Q) how many; several
Elias (N, PROP) Elias
Elisabet (N, PROP) Elisabet
empat (NUM, IND) four
enam (NUM, IND) six
épaguro (N) molar
épau (N) shoe
épe (ADJ) sharp
épewego (N) (house) pole
épo (N) tooth
épopo (N) nail
éposiwai (ADJ) straight
era- (V) to tell
Erabibo (N, PROP) Erabibo
eragatá (N) outrigger
érasoe (N) (body)fat
ératuqura (N) injection
eráwira (N) virgin, maiden (PL: **eráwise**)
erégo (N) *nibung* tree species
Erepau (N, PROP) Erepau
érerao (N) other
érero (N) thatched roof
éro (N) canoe; dugout
ésawarido (N) cassowary
eségo (ADJ) far
eta- (V) to go
étago- (V) to swallow
etii- (V) to be silent
étoto (N) end
ewáíwa (CONJ) and; next
ewáo (N) late afternoon
Ewerido (N, PROP) Ewerido
éwi(qa) (ADV) just; only; but

ewó (N) hand, PL **méwo**
éwogo (Q) when
ewótira (N) tongs

F

fárido (N) *pari* fish
fatáro (N) attic
fífau (N) breadfruit
Fife (N, PROP) Fife
flur (N, DUTCH) floor
fluri (N) floor (<Dutch vloer)
fólo- (V) to embrace
fóto (N, DUTCH) picture
fówo (N) *sukun* tree species
fúgi(do) (N) banana

G

gáago (N) side
gágowo- (V) to compose
gai (N) price; sum; treasure
gaisi (N) armpit
gao (N) inside
gaore- (V) to smell
gáqeto (N) headwater
garágará (N) treefrog species
garasaqoro (N) drinking glass (<DUTCH
 glas, IND gelas)
gárebo (N) rivermouth; front; face
gárigariso (N) matches
gáure (N) stench
gawágawáro (N) yearbird
gáwo (N) chin
gáwuri (N) ray (of light)
ge- (V) to do; to take; to make
gégare (N) finger
gégarasio (N) fingernail
gébiro (N) tree species
gebó (N) underside
gégawo (N) branch
gérafo (N) song

geré- (V) to pull out
gerédidau (N) work (<IND kerja)
gereja (N, IND) church
géro (N) smoke
gesigéwo (N) trousers
Gésoweri (N, placename) Kasuweri
giáresa- (V) to be afraid
giáta- (V) to continue
giqiriwe (N) witch
giré (ADJ) long
Gíririfo (N, placename) Giririfo
gírto (N) fog
gíro (N) skin
gobó (N) 1. body of water (sea; tributary; river; lake)
 2. ancestral land; sago garden.
góbo (N) liver
góisaqido (N) spider
góuto (N) bamboo musical instrument with three strings
gúqo (N) egg
gurui (F: **gúrugo**) (N) teacher (<IND guru)
gúso (N) tail

H

hanya (ADV, IND) just
hari (N, IND) day
hidupi- (V) to live (<IND hidup)

I

i- (V) descend
iba- (V) to trade
ibáu (ADV) formerly
ibau (ADJ) old; last
íbi (N) behind; buttocks
íboro (N) ashes; kitchen
ibósiqai (N) lightning
idábe (N) hawk
Idawúgobo (N, placename) Idawúgobo
ídawuqai (N) watch; clock

idéro (N) white fruit
ídedou- (V, INTR) to fall
idi- (V) to stand
idiquo- (V) to open something
idúara (ADV) not yet
ígo (N) scabies
íko- (V) to follow (<IND ikut)
ípo (N) splinter; small stick
íqo- (V) to put down
irágiri (N) body; person
iráro (N) hair
irarói (ADJ) quick
Irarówatáro (N, placename) Inanwatan
irábuqo (N) eye
irásiqo (N) eyelid
iráte (N) place
írauto (N) flesh
irere- (V) to withdraw
ireró (N) bamboo
iri (N) morning bird
íro (N) gong
írowo (N) body; person
ísi (V, IND) to fill
isíbo (N) sago bait to lure wild pigs
isidó (ADJ) empty; finished
íso (N) small jambu fruit
Isógo (N, placename) Isogo
itatábo (N, PL) ancestors
itáto (N) lizard
ítato (N) grandmother
ítitido (N) crown pigeon
itoqo- (V) to decorate
ituro (N) high ground
iwáa (ADV) yesterday
iwáiqá (ADV) just; recently
iwáqe (ADV) allright; true
ió (ADV) yes

J

jadi (CONJ, IND) therefore
jéngkrik (N, IND) cricket

Jumat (N, IND) Friday
juta (NUM, IND) million

K

kain (N, IND) cloth
Kakúbari (N, placename) Kampong Baru
kalau (CONJ, IND) if
Kamis (N, IND) Thursday
kampong (N, IND) village
Kaqére (N, PROP) Kaqére
karena (CONJ, IND) because
kariwu (N) (one) time; turn (<IND kali)
kasikeruari- (V) to make something go out (<IND kasih keluar)
kasimásu- (V) to make something go in (<IND kasih masuk)
káabaso (N) yarn
káaparai (N) head; leader (<IND kepala)
káapare (ADJ) big
káaparo (N) ship (<IND kapal)
kágeti- (V) to be afraid (<IND kaget)
kárido (N) cooking pot
káturo (N) office (<IND kantor)
káwe- (V) to marry (<IND kawin)
kebóu (N) garden (<IND kebun)
kelúari- (V) to go out (<IND keluar)
kepala (N, IND) head; leader
kerédidau (N) work (<IND kerja)
ketemu (V, IND) to meet
kéeraro (N) sea turtle
kéqidau (N) sago beetle
kodok (N, IND) frog
Koka (N, placename) Kokas
kopórída (N) Dutch Indies government (<Dutch compagnie)
koran (N, IND) newspaper
kóbikobido (N) big red jambu fruit
Kókowa (N, PROP) Kokowa
kóofido (N) coffee (<IND kopi)
kóopo (N) ridge of roof
kóqawo (N) basket

kórekore (N) war canoe (<IND kore-kore)
kóroburo (N) fruit of sago
kórotaso (N) paper (<IND kertas)
kuburan (N) grave
kúkiso (N) cookies (<Dutch koekjes)
kúparo (N) bridal payment

L

lengkapi (ADJ) complete (<IND lengkap)
lima (NUM, IND) five
lulusi- (V) to pass an exam (<IND lulus)
lusin (N, IND) dozen

M

maburúku (N) crown pigeon (<Malay mambruk)
madéi (ADV) already
mai (N) husband
maitáro (N) petrol
máiwa (CONJ) next; and; thus
máiwo (ADV) now; here
mákaqido (N) taro
maksud (N, IND) goal
mantri (N, IND) health worker
mao (N) wife
maqápo (N) fire
máqare (N) hindleg
maqárerido (N) citrus fruit
maqiwó (ADJ) wet
máqo (N) sago pounding stick
marábeto (N) iguana
márade (N) earthquake
maráido (N) Malay; Indonesian (<Dutch: Maleis)
máarakawo (N) sweet potatoe
marara(wa) (ADJ) crooked
máraro (N) *nibung* tree species
máro (N) village; kampong
márouru (N) offspring
máruqo (ADJ) ashamed (<IND malu)
marusái (ADJ) white

maso (N) to enter (<IND masuk)

Mateis (N, PROP) Matthew

máto (N) placenta

mawágo (ADJ) big

máwise (N) younger siblings

me- (V) to give

mébuto (N) elbow; corner

medaqóqote (N) worm

médo (N) snake

meidáu (N) table (<IND meja)

meigo- (V) to deceive

meqáro (N) house

méqo (N) rope

mérepo (N) sago species
with short thorns

mésidae (N) man

mésidaro (N) shrimp species

méte (ADJ) bad; aggressive

métoro (N) side

mewa- (V) to plant something

Mewáowa (N) Kokoda people

méwoqo (N) dog

midáido (N) influenza

mídero (N) tongue

mídewi (N) snotnose

midó (N) sand

mído (N) nasal mucus

mígido (N) chest

míki (N) eagle

míogae (ADV) in turn

míowo (ADJ) different

míqoqoro (N) lip

mírago (N) machete

míraqo (N) umbilical cord

míri (N) belly

miriqó (N) gun

míroqai (ADJ) true

mísidao (N) woman

mítobi (N) nose

mo (ADV) there; then

mo- (V) to come

mófiro (N) medicine

mogágo (N) sago species

Mógewiso (N, placename) Mógewiso

mogó- (V) to carry

mógo (N) jungle; clan territory

mógogi- (V) to fail (of engine) (<IND
mogok)

mogóqui (N) heron

mói (ADV) there

móide (ADV) from there; from then

mópetirido (N) firefly

móqo (N) moon; month

moqo- (V) to put down

morá- (V) to hit

moráworau (N) snake species (Boa
Constrictor)

more- (V) to mention

mosése (N) sir; master

moseséqido (N) government

mosírirido (N) debt

móteqogeritau (N) pulpit

motor (N, IND) engine

moúwuqaro (N) chair

mówaro (N) settlement

muéra (N) salt

mugérerido (ADJ) dark

Mugúro (N, placename) Mugúro

mulai (V, IND) to begin

mungkin (ADV, IND) possibly

Murray (N, PROP) Murray

múri (N) gift

múro (N) river

mutáu- (V) to kill

múteri (NUM) one

múti (N) elbow

muwúqo (N) *nenek* fish

N

na- (V) to make; to take

na- (V) to cry

nado- (V) to return

nagi(á)re (NUM, M) one
nago- (V) to pierce
naguáre (NUM, F) one
nanti (ADV, IND) later
napago- (V) to divide
naqáro (ADJ) red
naqirau (N) gerupa tree
naqíde (ADV) quickly
nasíqau (N) window
natératewe (N) (married) couple
natíta (N) anger
Naware (N, PROP) Naware
Nawétira (N, PROP) Nawétira
náwo (ADV) not
naworáu (Q) where
Nawóra (N, PROP) Namora
náato (N) knife
nábawo (N) slave
nádago (ADV) again
nádaro (N) clothing
nádooro (ADV) again
nágetirai (Q) how
náireso- (V) to throw away
nápaigoi (ADV) through; middle
náqaqato (N) scar
nárere (N) magic
násari (N) dedication offering (<IND nazar)
nátabuqo (N) framboesia
náto (N) wound
náugu (N) screw; ventilator
náwoido (N) *nibung* tree species
ne- (V) to sleep
neqo- (V) to catch
neqódi- (V) to steal
nerá- (V) to ask
néri (N) name
netáro (N) clearing in jungle; garden
netó (N) sago grub
néqau (N) goat
néqebisa- (V) to defecate

néqi (N) thunderstrike
néquqo (N) mud
nérewo (N) storm
nésaro (N) smithy
nésiroro (ADJ) small
nétasiqu (N) shell
néwago (N) harbour
ni- (V) to eat; to drink; to smoke
niwapulu (NUM) fifty (<IND limapuluh)
niwáriwaro (N) plates (traditional wealth article)
nído (N) frog (of the swamps)
niógae (ADV) each other
níra (N) day
níritawo (N) food
níro (N) night
níroro (ADV) self
noo- (V) to fly
nódera (N) burial
noi- (V) to pound (sago)
nóqaro (N) paddle
noqego- (V) to don (clothing)
noqoqau- (V) to cough
nou- (V) to fall
nowo- (V) to come down; to descend (river, land, house)
nósiro (N) well; source of a river
nóto (N) cloth for *sarong* (<Patipi not)
nówo (N) flying fox
nu- (V) to die
núawu- (V) to come together
nurúgo (ADJ) heavy
nusíro (N) island
núgai (N) (my) middle finger; Wednesday

O

oba (N) medicine (<IND obat)
óbaro (N) (plant) shoot
óbau (N) sand
óbéqo (N) black water snake species (non poisonous)

obó- (V) to hit
óbuqo (N) coconut
óderi (N) thunder
ó(u)do (N) (walking) stick
óe (N) fart
Októberi (N) Octobre (<IND oktober)
oote- (V) to be ill
ópaguo (N) testicle
ópe (N) scrotum
opo- (V) to take a bath
opopó- (V) to nail
óqobuwai (ADJ) straight
órasiqo (N) coconut shell
órewo (N) woman
órido (N) riverbank
óro (N) vagina
oróbeqo (ADJ) cold
orowó (N) lance
oságo (N) osago fish
otau (N) sago species
otí (ADV) also
otoqó (N) outside
otówo (N) leech
ówae (EXCL) oh
óweidi- (V) to become day
owétiti (N) cricket
ówiwire (N) scabies
owóiwó (ADV) there

P

páakai- (V) to use (<IND pakai)
páditae (N) pastor (protestant)
págaro (N) fence (<IND pagar)
pahati- (V) to chisel (<IND pahat)
palapon (N) ceiling (<Dutch plavond)
panggung (N, IND) pulpit
panitia (N, IND) committee
parapón (N) ceiling (<Dutch plafond)
paráto (N) rain
párea- (V) to know
páretau (N) command (<IND perintah)

pasari (N) market (<IND pasar)
pásau (N) rice (<Patipi pasa)
Patipi (N, placename) Patipi
pawárasí (N) lazybird (<IND pemalas)
peberuári (N) February (<IND Februari)
pemerintah (N, IND) government
pensiun (N, IND) retirement
péraqote (also: **pérau**) (N) devil
pertama (N, IND) first
pidei- (V) to spit
Pigére (N, PROP) Pigére
pigéro (N) ceramic jar
pigi- (V) to go (<IND pergi)
pinda(h) (V, IND) to move
pípiso (N) money (<Patipi pitis)
pítari (ADJ) clever (<IND pintar)
póoligi (N) clinic (<IND poliklinik)
póotoroti (N) pencil (<Dutch potlood)
popó- (V) to knock
poqoi- (V, INTR) to break
póra (N) attack scheme; conspiracy
pulau (N, IND) island
puríqato (N) bat
putih (ADJ, IND) white

Q

qa (N) faeces
qaa- (V) to knead (sago fibres)
qabáto (N) cockroach
qai (N) behind; buttocks
qai- (V) to follow
-qai (POSTP) in; at; on
qáqa- (V) to bite
qaqapiró (N) trash
qaqé (N) sail
qaqó (N) child
qáreqaro (N) door
qátoto (N) beach
qawáro (N) gall
qawe- (V) to care
qáwere (N) son

qawo- (V) to step
qe- (V) to speak; to say; to read; to do
qebadi- (V) to return
qebásaro (N) back
qebi- (V) to defecate
qée- (V) to play
qégedi (N) sun
qegéiro (N) rack
qegí (N) father
qégi (N) father
qekáqe (N) cockatoo
qépabuto (N) heel
qépaqa (ADJ) paralyzed
qépo (N) foot
qeqée- (V) to laugh
qeqéi (N) white cockatoo
qeqído (ADV) not
qéqu- (V) to swim
qera- (V) to fall dry
qérasoe (N) fat
qérawira (N) virgin
qére (CONJ) thus; therefore
qére (ADJ) old
qéro (N) ear
qetáiraro (N) rattan
qetáwirido (N) little container made
 from sago leaf shaft
qéwo (N) centipede
qibaqorau (N) first wife
qibíro (N) turtle
qíqo (ADJ) new
qíqore- (V) to peel off skin; to remove
 bark (from tree)
qíri (N) morning bird
qodi- (V) to steal
qógeqaro (N) forked spear
qoi (N) white ant
qóqorau (N) chicken
qóqowo (ADJ) straight
qóte- (V) to give birth to
qóto (N) young (animal)

qóto (N) louse
qotoqóware (N) son
qowáepo (N) stairs; bridge
qówewao (N) husband's people
qówewi (N) man
qugo- (V) to cut
ququ- (V) to boil
qúqu (N) parents; fathers
qúro (N) shoot

R

Rabu (N, IND) Wednesday
rádio (N, IND) radio
ratusi (NUM) hundred (<IND (se)ratus)
rencana (N, IND) plan
ribu (NUM, IND) thousand
róti (N, IND) bread
rumah (N, IND) house
rúsa (N, IND) deer

S

sáa (N) water
sampai (V, IND) to arrive; until
Sarátubiro (N, placename) Sartubir
sarído (N) cloud; heaven
satu (NUM, IND) one
saióre (N) vegetables (<IND sayur)
sáaki (ADJ) ill (<IND sakit)
sái (ADJ) warm
sákiraoro (N) cup
sáragao (N) result
sáraro (ADJ) little
sárau (ADJ) bad; wrong (<IND salah)
sáro (N) multitude
sarído (N) sky
se (PL: **neqa**) – (V) to walk; to go
sebab (CONJ, IND) because
sebéro (N) black saltwater fish (IND ikan
 sembilan hitam)
Sebéru (N, PROP) Sebéru

- see-** (V) to cut
Segéi (N, PROP) Segéi
sekarang (ADV, IND) now
sekolah (N, IND) school
sengki (N) corrugated iron (<IND seng)
Septémberi (N) September (<IND September)
séro (N) word; story
sébato (N) shrimp
Sédida (N, placename) Yahadian
sénteri (N) flashlight (<IND senter)
séqaro (N) stick used in playing the **gouto** musical instrument
séqoqai (N) sewing machine
sésege (N) mosquito; malaria
sésero (N) fishhook
Séti (N, PROP) Seth
séturo (N) waistband
si (ADJ) empty
sidáoqo (N) roll of fabric
Sidepao (N) Japan
sigíte (N) elephantiasis
sígo (N) pole
Simson (N, PROP) Simson
sío (N) shell; nail
siwówaqo (N) butterfly
Sía (N, PROP) Yosias
síiwo (N) grass
síbidaro (N) worship; church; Sunday; week
subáidau (N) Saturday
sídadódowe (N) cuttings of cloth
sídagae (N) bird of paradise (IND burung kuning)
sídero (N) parrot
sído (N) red parrot
sídoqugoi (N) piece of fabric
síiwa- (V) to wash
síkorao (N) school (<IND sekolah)
Síriqare (N, PROP) Síriqare
síro (N) tea; hot drink
sísiwa- (V) to knock
síwae- (V) to be born
síwaro (N) nibung tree species
síwo (N) comb
sío (N) poison
sopetáwau (N) banana species (IND pisang nona)
soqówo (N) sago
soqúwai (ADV) long
soridásiqo (N) acreage of sago
soro- (V) to plant
Sorowáto (N, PROP) Sorowáto
Sóoru (N, PROP) Sorong
sówo (N) stomach
sówato (ADJ) good
sóbaro (N) bamboo
sóboro (ADJ) very good
sóparo (N) mist; fog
sósorao (N) forked spear for fishing
sówa (ADJ) attractive
sówato (ADJ) good
sówatéira (ADV) beautifully
sówo (N) stomach
sówoigiáwo- (V) throw forcefully
spitbot (N, IND) speedboat
su- (V) leak
subáidau (N) Saturday
sugaqore (N) bottom
sugeri (NUM) two, both
suqére (N) sago
súqo (N) sago species (with thorns)
súrato (N) letter (<IND surat)
sururáto (N) letter, book (<IND surat)
surúqo (N) feast
surúrubo (ADJ) green; blue
súgarato (N) net
súro (N) seed
súsage- (V) to make trouble; to bring trouble to someone (<IND susah)
súster (N) nurse (<DUTCH zuster)
súusa (N) trouble (<IND susah)

T

ta- (V) go
tabá (N) tobacco (<IND tembakau)
tabáqido (N) tobacco (<IND tembakau)
tabiskan (V, IND) dedicate
tabúqo (N) meat, flesh
tagáu- (V) traverse
tahun (N, IND) year
tanggal (N, IND) date
tapi (CONJ, IND) but
tara (V, INTR) burn
tarara- (V) shine
tarágo (N) road
tarído (ADJ) black
tatábo (N) grandparents
táto (N) grandmother
tatúri (N) grandfather
tatúbori (N) head
Tawo (N, PROP) Tawo
táamati- (V) graduate (<IND tamat)
tába- (V) count with *lidi* sticks
tábeqatori- (V) agree
táberau (N) táberau fish
táboro- (V) bite
tápuqaro (ADJ) blunt
táqo (N) grandmother
táqui (N) grandfather
tára- (V) shine
táragare (N) south
táragaro (N) lake
táugo (N) year (<IND tahun)
táurasugo (N) bowstring
táuro (N) bow
táwaro (N) steel axe
te- (V, PLURAL STEM) sit, live, be, stay
tebéqo (N) stick
tegaqawuri (ADJ) hot
Teko (N, PROP) Steenkool
teqo- (V) ascend
tera- (V) submerge, go under
terus (ADV, IND) continuous, next

terusi (ADV) continuous (<IND terus)
tete- (V) cut
tetewo (ADJ) all
tetéise (V) cut into pieces
tetéwo(qa) (ADJ) all
tetóira (Q) how many
tewe (POSTP) from
te- (V) be erect
téba- (V) try
tégi (N) sun; watch
tégo (N) day
téguride- (V) reproach
Téko (N, PROP) Steenkool
téragobo (N) cleft, valley
téro (N) tea (<IND teh)
térogo (ADJ) slanting
téte- (V) cut
téwarago (N) land falling dry during low tide
tiap (ADJ, IND) each
tidó- (V) pierce
tiga (NUM, IND) three
tigó (ADV) that, already, finished, just
tira- (V) take fish with hook
tirara (NEG) not be (<IND tidak ada)
tita (N) sweat
tiwíro (N) wind
tíi(de)- (V) silent
típitipidarere (ADJ) narrow
tíra- (V) take
tírae (ADV) slow
tíraeséra (ADV) slow, careful
tírasere (ADV) slow
tíraseretirai (ADV) slowly
tírido (N) mountain
tító (N) wall
tíwiro (N) wind
to (ADJ) true, original, open
tobo- (V) listen
toqo- (V) erect
toqó (N) palmwine

torne (N) patrol (<DUTCH toerne)
tó (ADJ) fresh(water)
tóbo- (V) listen
tóide (ADJ) afraid
tókuro (N) shop (<IND toko)
tóqo (N, F) bone
tótoqo (N) bones
tóuqedesiri (N) on his own (<IND tersendiri)
tuebe (ADV) late
turáqa (ADJ) crippled
turun (V, IND) descend
tutu- (V) be painful
tutupi- (V) close, cover (<IND tutup)
túgare (N) Mister; master
túgarido (N) inheritance
Túgau (N, PROP) Túgau
túge (ADV) firmly, strong
túgo (N) woven fishing sieve for scooping shrimps and small fish from shallow water
túkari- (V) exchange (<IND tukar)
túqu- (V) plant
túro- (V) buy
tútu- (V) smoke, inhale, ache

U

u- (V) fell
udágibo (ADJ) black
úrago (N) clanterritory; village; world; weather
urá- (V) see
-uru (POSTP) with; together with
urúqu (ADV) together

uséqe (ADJ) many
Usóqo (NPROP) Usóqo
utábuqo (N) meat
utó (N) fish
uwáfide (N) east
uwása (N) urine
uwo- (V) come up river; enter
uwú- (V, SINGULAR STEM) sit; stay; be, live
uwútawora (N) piece of woodwith burning end
údagibi (ADJ) black
údo (N) charcoal
úfo (N) firestone
úgari (ADV) together
úge- (V) be dark
úgo- (V) cut
úpasara (N) police (>DUTCH oppasser)
úpaso (N) policeman; police (>DUTCH oppasser)
úro (N) bananashoot
úru (ADV) together
úsabi- (V) come
úsugo (N) vein;tendon
útariri (N, M) beloved
útariro (N, F) beloved
útaro (N) shark
úto (N) fish
úuwe- (V) become dark
úuwege- (V) become dark; be dark
úware (N) young unmarried man
úwigo (N) urip
úwo (N) road

Appendix 2: Texts

The oral texts in this appendix were selected to illustrate patterns of grammar and discourse described in this book. Part A presents texts from the oral tradition. Part B presents Inanwatan texts that do not come from the oral tradition. These are a procedural discourse, a narrative with a first person perspective, and a conversation. Part C illustrates the 'pure' regional Malay (without code mixing and without Inanwatan loans) that is used in church, school and government contexts and as an interethnic lingua franca. The texts from Part B illustrate the relatively 'pure' Inanwatan (without code mixing, but with some Malay loans) that is used in certain genres of the oral tradition like the *túgarido* genre. Continuous, intensive Malay/Inanwatan mixing is used within the community as the default means of communication and is exemplified by Texts 2 and 3 of Part B.

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Part A: Texts from the oral tradition

1. Nawora from Patipi

The Nawora story was told to me by Bernard Mitogai, a former *Kepala Desa* (head of the village) of Inanwatan (born in Inanwatan around 1930) in March 1994 in his house in Inanwatan. In the first line the story is announced as belonging to the *túgarido* genre. The word *túgarido* means heirloom and is also used for inherited wealth items such as antique guns and plates. Texts of the *túgarido* genre are inherited texts, transmitted within descent groups that own these stories. Often, a *túgarido* text and a *túgarido* object belong together. For example, the Fife people showed me the gong that goes with the *túgarido* story about the man Fife and his gong which commences with the typical *túgarido* intro formula:

Iro túgarido ira-séro qé-bido.

gong heirloom gong-story speak-ADH.1PL

Let us tell about the inherited gong, the story of the gong.

A characteristic of these *túgarido* texts is the combination of narrative and magic chant of a type called *derió*. In the course of the narrative, one of the characters in the story chants such a *derió* or at the end of the narrative the narrator sings the magic *derió* chant that goes with that narrative. The chant is accompanied by *góuto* music. The *góuto*, called *gambus* in Malay, is a three-stringed bamboo idiochord found only along the MacCluer Gulf of western New Guinea. Chordophones being rare in New Guinea, the *góuto* probably betrays Malay influences (cf. Kunst 1967:130; van Hille 1907:547).

Túgarido texts deal with the history and origin of cultural and natural phenomena that are important to Inanwatan people. The fact that these stories date back to the ancestors gives them authority. All narrators of the *túgarido* texts that I recorded firmly believed that they were true and the genre was contrasted with the *eqiqa-séro*, stories without pretensions of truth and authority.

The Nawora story deals with the relationship with Onin and Patipi. Patipi is a village on the south coast of the Bomberai peninsula, in the Onin area. The North-Moluccan Sultans of Tidore had their middle men in the Onin area who established trade monopolies on the Bird's Head south coast, especially where major rivers watered into the MacCluer Gulf and the Seram Sea. These middle men had the Malay title *raja* 'king'. The *raja* of Patipi sent representatives to the Siganoi river mouth where they engaged in slave trade with the Inanwatan people. These representatives were also called *raja* ('king'). To get slaves, the Inanwatan raided the interior but also neighbouring coastal peoples like the Yahadian. In exchange for the slaves, they received cloths, iron tools and weapons and guns from the Patipi 'middle men'. This text is about Nawora, the first *raja* of Inanwatan who came from Patipi. He became the father of the Inanwatan *fam* Nawora. This *fam* name also occurs in the Onin area, in the village Puar, and the Inanwatan Nawora people and the Onin Namora people regard each other as kinsmen, according to the narrator of this story. According to van Oosterhout (2002:248) the Nawora *fam* occupies a rather marginal position within Inanwatan society: 'They live on the outskirts of the village, separated by the graveyard, and are accused of having stolen their history from 'indigenous' Inanwatan and intruded on other people's land'.

Interestingly, some Nawora people deny their Patipi origin, probably to strengthen their claims to land (van Oosterhout 2002:248). This story likewise reflects the animosity between Patipi intruders and Inanwatan people.

Text

- (1) *Nawóra aga séro túgarido + né-qe-rita +*
Nawora POSS story heirloom 1SG.S-speak-DUR
Nawóra esái Patipi-wó-tewe wé-de-wo-re. #
Nawora this.M Patipi-CONN-from 3.S-go.across-come-PAST.PL
I am telling the history of Nawora, as for Nawora, they came across from Patipi.
- (2) *Mé-de-wo-i ewáíwa + muró-wai mura-gárebo-wai +*
3.S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M and river-this.F river-mouth-this.F
úra-wai Sarátubiro Nawétira-wo Nawétira-wo
DEM-this.F Sartubir Nawétira-at Nawétira-at
mái-wo-qede mura-gárebo jadi mái-wo-qede máso-we-ge-i. #
here-at-TOP river-mouth therefore here-at-TOP enter-3.S-do-PAST.SG.M
He came across and via the rivermouth of the Nawetira river at Cape Sartubir he entered.
- (3) *Ewáíwa terus + mo-uwo-i-re + mó-uwu-i*
and next 3.S-come.upriver-PAST.SG.M-and 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.M
nusíro úra mó-uwu-ge Sorowáto¹ gárebo-qai. #
island DEM 3.S-sit-PAST.PL Solowat mouth-at
And when he had come upriver, he settled on the island, they settled opposite the Solowat rivermouth.
- (4) *Mái-wo wó-uwu-i ewáíwa + ao nésaro áwuga-era-era-ro*
here-at 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.M and his smithy iron-piece-piece-PL
tétewo mogó-we-de-wo-i. #
all carry-3.S-go.across-come-PAST.SG.M
Here he settled and he brought across all pieces of iron for his smithy.
- (5) *Mái-wo ura-sai tigó + mírago mé-qobo-rita táwaro + sósorao-wo² +*
this-at DEM-this.M so machete 3.S-hit-DUR.PL axe spear-CONN
orówo+ ádawao + mái-wo úra me-wága-rita-i-re
lance harpoon this-at DEM 3.S-make-DUR-PAST.SG.M-and
dáro itatábo-wasu túkari-we-rita-i +
our.INC ancestors-these exchange-3.S-HAB-PAST.SG.M
suqére-go wé-iba-rita-i + ereráu-wasu nábawo wé-we-rita-re. #
sago-with 3.S-trade-DUR-PAST.SG.M other-these slave 3.S-give-DUR-PAST.PL
And here he welded machetes, axes, fishing spears, lances and harpoons, here he made them and traded them with our ancestors for sago, other people gave slaves.

¹ Small stream watering into the (very wide) Siganoi headwater.

² From Patipi *sosona*, a forked fishing spear (Malay: *kelawai*).

- (6) *Baru + mǐrago sówato mé-we-rita-i*
 next machete good 3.S-give-HAB-PAST.SG.M
táwaro sówato + buat mogóqo áreto
 steel.axe good for for thing
wé-ra-rita-re itatábo iówosu. #
 3.S-make-HAB-PAST.PL ancestors those
 And he gave good machetes, good axes for the ancestors to do things.
- (7) *Mé-de-wo-i-sai Náwora esái + buka méwo si*
 3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M-this.M Namora this.M not hand empty
wé-de-wo-bi-d-aigo + ao miriqó ewái nági-aga íragiro
 3.S-cross-come-PRES.SG.M-TR-NEG his gun this.F one-POSS body
ógo-we-de-wo-i + mawágoruqu-wa mé-era-rita-re. #
 carry-3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M big.men-these 3.S-say-HAB-PAST.PL
 When Namora came across, he did not do so emptyhanded, he brought twenty guns
 across, the leaders used to tell.
- (8) *Gáago-wo dópis ewái ísi-we-ge-rita-re obapasa³ ewái. #*
 side-at chamber this.F fill-3.S-do-HAB-PAST gunpowder this.F
 At the side they used to fill the chamber with gunpowder.
- (9) *Jadi nágia-ga íragiro mógo-we-de-wo-i +*
 therefore one-POSS body carry-3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M
ao miriqó ewái + ao béraro + ao máwise +
 his gun this.F his warcanoe his younger.sibling.PL
tétewo urú-we-de-wo-i. #
 all together-3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M
 So he brought twenty guns and he brought all his warcanoes and all his relatives.
- (10) *Buka wéwa-muteri qeqído-wo + ao árubugere*
 not himself-one not-be.3.SG.F his relatives
urú-we-de-wo-i + mó-uwu-i mái-wo-qede
 together-3.S-cross-come-PAST.SG.M 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.M this-at-TOP
ére itigó qobó-i-ge mé-iba-rita-i + áretere
 and so hit-ADV-with 3.S-trade-HAB-PAST.SG.M whatever
suqére-go + atau nábawo mai wé-iqo-rita-re. #
 sago-with or slave this.F 3.S-put.down-HAB-PAST.PL
 Not just he himself, no he brought across his relatives and settled and from
 here he exchanged what he welded with whatever which they put down,
 with sago or slaves.
- (11) *Má-ge-re-re mawágo-wasu meigo-weigo +*
 thus-do-PAST-and big-these deceive-deceive

³ *Dópis* 'chamber for gunpowder' and *obapasa* 'gunpowder' (<standard Indonesian *obat pasang*) are local Malay words used for these parts of antique guns.

agó Mugúro-wo-tewe + me-párea-re +
but Mugúro-CONN-from 3.S-know-PAST.PL

urú-we-rowo-rita-re ewáíwa
together-3.S-come.down-DUR-PAST.PL and

órewe sówa eráwise-wasu qeqúqu-wa + éro-wo
woman.PL attractive virgin-these parent.PL-these canoe-in

tego-ge + táwaro ra-bírowu mírago ra-bírowu. #
ascend-with steel.axe take-for.PL machete take-for.PL

Thus the big men deceived (him) and those from Mugim knew it and they came down with (their) attractive women, girls, the parents put them in the canoes when they went to get axes and machetes.

- (12) *Agó mé-qaqo-i-de mé-era-rita-i +*
but 3.S-face-PAST.SG.M-and 3.S-say-DUR-PAST.SG.M

qotoqówaro owói íqo-ra-e na-wáo-go. #
daughter that.F put.down-IMP-PL my-wife-CIRC

And he faced (them) and said, 'that girl, you must give her to me as my wife'.

- (13) *Suda mai mé-iqo-rita-re mo-wé-tira-rita-i +*
so this.F 3.S-put.down-DUR-PAST.PL come-3.S-take-DUR-PAST.SG.M

tígo mao-go mé-ra-rita-i. #
so wife-CIRC 3.S-take-DUR-PAST.SG.M

So they put her down and he came and took her to become his wife.

- (14) *Má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re + a mé-era-rita-re*
thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and ah 3.S-say-DUR-PAST.PL

qáwere ígadara ísido mé-ge-rita-bi-sai-sai. #
child.PL us.INC.from empty 3.S-do-DUR-SG.M-this.M-this.M

Since he kept doing so, they said, 'ah, this one leaves us without children'.

- (15) *Jadi suda + póra-séro wé-ge-re mutáu-birowu. #*
therefore so conspiracy-word 3.S-do-PAST.PL kill-in.order.to.PL
Therefore, allright, they made plans to kill him.

- (16) *Séro-wai mé-qe-re + íso-we-rego-re*
word-this.F 3.S-speak-PAST.PL ?-3.S-put.down-PAST.PL

sówato-go + baru otau-wai mó-u-ge +
good-CIRC and sago.species-this.F 3.S-fell-PAST.PL

mé-iqo-re-re + bidó iro we-qúgo-re + fúgido
3.S-remove.bark-PAST.PL-and pig body 3.S-cut-PAST.PL banana

we-sée-re + mógo-we-reqa-re Múguro néwago
3.S-cut-PAST.PL carry-3.S-walk.PL-PAST.PL Múguro harbour

má-wai mé-ra-re + baru + owáqepo egéqiro mé-soro-re
thus-this.F 3.S-take-PAST.PL and stairs bridge 3.S-plant-PAST.PL

owáqepo-wai gábo-go mé-itoqo-re. #

stairs-this.F decoration-CIRC 3.S-decorate-PAST.PL

They spoke thus and organized it well and they felled sago trees, removed the bark, butchered a pig, cut bananas and brought it to the Mugur harbour, constructed a bridge and decorated it.

- (17) *Mé-itoqo-re ewáíwa + mai we-róe-re-re*
3.S-decorate-PAST.PL and this.F 3.S-go.down-PAST.PL-and

mé-era-re + ágo ao béraro-go uru-wó-uwo-i

3.S-say-PAST.PL and his warcanoe-CIRC together-3.S-come.upriver-PAST.SG.M

nata ewásu nági-aga íragiro miriqó-wai otí uru nagi-aga íragir-i. #

wives these one-POSS body gun-this.F also together one-POSS body-M

They decorated and went down and invited (him) and he came upriver in his warcanoe, with twenty wives and also twenty rifles.

- (18) *Baru + owáqepo áboto egéqiro mi-arouge-i*
and stairs top bridge 3.S-moor-PAST.SG.M

íde-we-qáwo-i. #

INTR-3.S-descend-PAST.SG.M

And he moored at the bridge and descended (from the canoe).

- (19) *Mé-raai-rita-d-aigo mádei mísida-e-sai*
3.S-ascend-DUR-TR-NEG already person-M-this.M

i-rita-we-sai mé-era-re + méwo-gaisi

pierce-DUR-NOM.SG.M-this.M 3.S-say-PAST.PL hand-armpit.M

naqide ra-ra. #

quick do-IMP.SG

While he is ascending (the stairs), they had told the man who was to pierce him, you must do it suddenly under the armpit.

- (20) *Jadi orowó-wai dówo-go me-sée-re + géro-wai. #*
therefore lance-this.F short-with 3.S-cut-PAST.PL handle-this.F
Therefore they cut the lance short, its handle.

- (21) *Ere dówo-go mé-tira-i + máíwa me-ráa-i*
And short-CIRC 3.S-take-PAST.SG.M next 3.S-ascend-PAST.SG.M

tétewo-re mádei owáqepo étoto egéqiro atu-beqewu-g-aigo +
all-and already stairs end bridge step-for.SG-?-NEG

mewu-gaisi ura náqide wé-ra-i tidó-i-de
arm-armpit.M DEM quick 3.S-take-PAST.SG.M pierce-PAST.SG.M-and

me-róe-re ser-éwi i-wigo áwoge
3.S-go.down-PAST lance-NOM.M descend-while again

ao éro qero-wó-o-i orów-ewi-wa
his canoe fall.into-3.S-fall-PAST.SG.M lance-NOM.M-this

me-róo-i *ser-éwi-wa. #*
 3.S-fall.into-PAST.SG.M lance-NOM.M-this

Therefore he held (the lance) short and he (=Nawora) went up and just while he wanted to step on the bridge, he (=killer) suddenly pierced him through the armpit and the man with the lance in his body fell back in his canoe, with the lance in his body.

- (22) *Me-róo-i* *seréwi-wa + nataqe qaqó-ere*
 3.S-fall.into-PAST.SG.M man.with.lance-this wives child-and

miriqó ewái qoqó-we-ra-re mai wi-átuge-re. #
 gun this.F grab-3.S-do-PAST.PL this.F 3.S-fire-PAST.PL

The man with the lance fell back and the wives and the children grabbed the rifles and started firing.

- (23) *Mai wi-átuge-re + tapi qido-wo morá-y-aigo +*
 this.F 3.S-fire-PAST.PL but not-be.3.SG.F hit-TR-NEG

me-wo-re-wo mó-ura-re mé-roda-re árasau-go. #
 3.S-come-PAST.PL-CONN 3.S-see-PAST.PL 3.S-run-PAST.PL fright-CIRC

They fired but they did not hit and they (Namora's people) came and saw that they (=the Inanwatan killing party) had fled with fright.

- (24) *Mé-roda-ri-aigo suda + a mé-rowo-i ewáíwa +*
 3.S-run-not.be-NEG so ah 3.S-come.down-PAST.SG.M and

qaqó-wa me-súsa-re arubu we-súsa-re qégi-sai
 child-this 3.S-trouble-PAST.PL relative 3.S-trouble-PAST.PL father-this.M

úra nádoro mé-rowo-re-re nárere-wai mé-ra-re. #

DEM again 3.S-come.down-PAST.PL-and magic-this.F 3.S-take-PAST.PL

While they were fleeing, he (Namora) came down and his children lamented, his relatives were in sorrow and seeing (their) father, they returned and performed magic.

- (25) *Tawo-tawo-gobe-sai-qede néto nárere-go e-ríta-wo ewái*
 Tawo-tawo-river-this.M-TOP shell magic-CIRC speak-DUR-NOM.F this.F

mé-ra-re ewáíwa + kárido awéro mó-uwu-ge-re
 3.S-take-PAST.PL and pot big 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.F-and

me-quíqu-rita-ri-aigo mai wi-wi-re gao-wai
 3.S-boil-DUR-not.be-NEG this.F 3.S-give-PAST.PL inside-in

mó-uwu-ge-re + mai néto ewáíwa áibo wé-to-re +
 3.S-sit-PAST.SG.F-and this.F shell and voice 3.S-open-PAST.SG.F

sira-gao-wo baru dóqe + párato nérewo + saa ewái
 boiling.water-inside-in and oh rain storm water this.F

mó-owe-re baru qáqe-wa qáqe-wa mai-we-reso-i
 3.S-go.upriver-PAST.SG.F and sail-this sail-this this.F-3.S-throw-PAST.SG.M

máíwa tígo saa-go we-i-de. #

next so water-CIRC 3.S-go.down-PAST.PL

With a shell from the Towatowa stream they cast a spell and they put down a big pan and while the water boiled, they let loose the shellfish into it and its mouth opened in the boiling water and with the rainstorm the water rose and the sail threw⁴ and they (=the Inanwatan people) drifted with the water.

2. Ariqíware

This text was recorded in February 1994 in the house of the narrator Bernard Mitogai (born 1931 in Inanwatan). Dominggus Murray helped me with the transcription of the text. It is an example of the genre *séro túgarido* ('heirloom-story'). This text is 'owned' by the Erepa *gobó* (clan) and has the link between the ancestors and the sun as its theme. See van Oosterhout (2002:230–331) for the culture hero Ariqíware, for other versions of this myth and for an interpretation of this myth in the context of Inanwatan ethnography. A typical characteristic of these *túgarido* texts is the combination of narrative and magic chant of a type called *deriô* (see Text A no. 1, the Nawora story). This text has a *deriô* in line (29).

Text

- (1) *Ariqíwari aga-wo séro-wai qé-bidó +*
Ariqíware POSS-CONN story-this.F tell-1PL.ADH

Let us tell the story of Ariqíware.

Ariqíware-sai + awéra-qaqábo-wa +
Ariqíware-this.M grandfather-grandmother-these

mírago méwo-wo wé-ge-re + mé-era-re sé-ra. #
machete hand-in 3.S-do-PAST 3.S-say-PAST go-IMP.SG

As for Ariqíware, the forefathers put a machete in his hand and they told him to go.

- (2) *Tégi-sai me-tára-rita-bi íraroi-biai*
sun-this.M 3.S-shine-HAB-M quick-very

mi-ráwo-rita-bi-re mé-i-rita-bi. #
3.S-come.up-HAB-SG.M-and 3.S-descend-HAB-M

When the sun shone, it used to rise and set very quickly.

- (3) *Suqó-wai gé-rawe-rita-re go-ú-rita*
sago-this.F 1PL.INC-go.up-HAB-and 1PL.INC-fell-HAB

go-ú-rita-de suqó-wai mú-uwe-rita. #
1PL.INC-fell-HAB-still sago-this.F 3.S-become.dark-HAB

We would go to fell sago and while still felling the sagotree, it would become dark.

- (4) *Mú-uwe-rita ewáíwa + áwoge mó-weidi-rita. #*
3.S-become.dark-HAB and again 3.S-become.light-HAB

It would become dark and then become light again.

⁴ The meaning of 'the sail threw' is unclear.

- (5) *G-íqore-rita-de + áwoge mú-uwe-rita. #*
 1PL.INC-peel.off-HAB-still again 3.S-become.dark-HAB
 When still removing the bark, it would become dark again.
- (6) *Mái-ra-qa-re séro-wai awéra-qaqabo-wa*
 this-for-TOP-and word-this.F grandfather-grandmother-these
séro me-qé-re ewáíwa me-bái-de + mé-era-re
 word 3.S-speak-PAST and 3.S-send-PAST 3.S-say-PAST
sé-ra-re + qégedi órewo + káawe-ra. #
 go-IMP.SG-and sun woman marry-IMP.SG
 Therefore the forefathers spoke this word and sent (him away) and they told him to go and to marry the daughter of the sun.
- (7) *Mé-se-i ewáíwa + oo gíre-wo-wo*
 3.S-go-PAST.M and oh long-be.3.SG.F-CONN
é-ra we-qáwa-re mé-se-i-dara-wo +
 3SG-for 3.S-wait-PAST 3.S-go-PAST.M-until-CONN
mé-se-i mé-se-i mé-se-i
 3.S-walk-PAST.M 3.S-walk-PAST.M 3.S-walk-PAST.M
ewáíwa + nóe-we-i-di. #
 and go.out-3.S-descend-PAST.M
 And he went and oh a very long time they waited and waited and he went on and on and he arrived.
- (8) *Nóe-we-i-di ewáíwa + mó-ura-i*
 go.out-3.S-descend-PAST.M and 3.S-see-PAST.M
qido-terusi-go noe-áigo mé-rabu-i-re m-agé-i-de +
 not-continue-CIRC go.out-NEG 3.S-hide-PAST.M-and 3.S-keep.still-PAST.M-while
mó-ura-i mungkin sáro qidó. #
 3.S-see-PAST.M possibly multitude NEG
 He arrived and he saw and he did not subsequently appear, and hid himself and keeping still he saw whether there were many people or not.
- (9) *Qeqídu-aigo mó-ura-i-wo órewo-wai + médur-ew-o +*
 not.be-not 3.S-see-PAST.M-CONN woman-this.F wing-person-F
órewo-wai + mé-i-de ewáíwa + buka-wé-ge-re
 woman-this.F 3.S-go.down-PAST and open-3.S-do-PAST
awo méduro ógo ró-rita-wo me-regó-re síwo-qai
 her wing to(?) fly-HAB-CONN 3.S-put.down-PAST grass-in
sáraba-wétoro-qai + atau mura-wétoro-qai wó-uwu-ge-re. #
 spring-side-at or river-side-at 3.S-sit-do-PAST
 There were not (people) and he saw the woman with wings and the woman went down and put off her wings to fly and laid them in the grass at the side of the spring or the river and there they (the wings) stayed.

- (10) *Qére mé-i-de-re mó-opo-re. #*
and 3.S-go.down-PAST-and 3.S-take.a.bath-PAST
Thus she went down and took a bath.
- (11) *Mó-opo-re + búsid-o-wai mó-opo-re. #*
3.S-take.a.bath-PAST naked.-F-this.F 3.S-take.a.bath-PAST
She took a bath, naked she took a bath.
- (12) *Agó írowo-we-ge-i duu +*
and body-3.S-do-PAST.M oh.dear
gébo-qai-de íro-we-ge-i ewáíwa +
underside-at-TOP body-3.S-do-PAST.M and
mó-opo-re ísido me-rái-re-re +
3.S-take.a.bath-PAST empty.F 3.S-ascend-PAST-and
mái-ra we-se-re dóqe órewo ewáíwa + agó-wai⁵
this-for 3.S-go-PAST oh.dear woman and and-that.F
e-rá-qa mé-rabu-ego-i méduro éwai. #
3SG-from-TOP 3.S-hide-CAUS-PAST.M wing that.F
And he followed her movements, oh, my from down he followed her movements
and. she took a bath and after that she ascended and searched but Oh, the woman,
he had hidden the wings.
- (13) *Ah baru mésidai-sai é-ra wé-se-rita-ri-aigo*
ah and man-this.M 3SG-for 3.S-go-HAB-while-not
írowo Ariqíware írowo me-rúside-i. #
body Ariqíware body 3.S-show-PAST.M
And the man, while she was searching for it, Ariqíware showed himself.
- (14) *Irowo me-rúside-i ewáíwa + a suda órewo-wa*
body 3.S-show-PAST.M and ah thus woman-this
wé-era-re + mó-ra + áwe káawe-ré-ge-sa
3.S-say-PAST come-IMP.SG you marry-1SG.S-do-FUT
egábara náwe e-sée-sa. #
NEG.IMP me 2SG.S-cut-FUT
He showed himself and, ah, thus, the woman said: 'Come, I shall marry you,
do not cut me'.
- (15) *Jadi suda + órewo-wa tígo séro-wai*
therefore thus woman-this so word-this.F
é-ra mé-qe-re i-sái na-qíde-sai +
3SG-for 3.S-speak-PAST be-this.M my-father-this.M

⁵ Demonstrative clitics which function as personal pronouns (see Chapter 3), may also cliticize to the conjunction *ago*.

ná-qide-wa mógo-wé-se-rita-bi tégi esái. #
 my-father-this carry-3.S-walk-HAB-M.SG sun this.M

Therefore the woman spoke to him in this way: 'My father is there, my father carries the sun'.

- (16) *Agó-iri ga gó-ura-rita ewái*
 and-you(PL) POSS 2PL.S-see-HAB this.F

ná-qide jadi nóe-bido ewáíwa + méqaro-wo
 my-father therefore go.out-1PL.INC.ADH and house-in

na-qíde-sai + būsá-wo⁶ úra-ra. #
 my-father-this.M can-CONN see-IMP.SG

And what you use to see is my father, therefore, let us show ourselves and you can see my father in the house

- (17) *Séro-wai tábeqatori-we-ge-re⁷ + mé-era-re*
 word-this.F agree-3.S-do-PAST 3.S-say-PAST

kalau + méqaro sampai-gé-ge-be + náwo qediara
 if house arrive-1PL.INC-do-PRES not yet

írowo é-rusaside-sa-qido + tíderia-ra
 body 2SG.S-show-FUT-NEG be.silent-IMP.SG

ná-qide-sai mé-se-rita-bi-dere nebái-bido-qe
 my-father-this.M 3.S-walk-DUR-M.SG-still ascend-1PL.INC.ADH-ADH

máíwa qáqo-wo náwa-ru. #
 next room-in me-with

They agreed and she said, 'When we have arrived at the house, you shall not yet show yourself, be silent, if my father is still underway, let us go up and you stay with me in my room'.

- (18) *Jadi suda órewo agá aibá-séro íko-we-ge-i +*
 therefore so woman POSS voice-word follow-3.S-do-PAST.M

qegí-sai mé-se-rita-i-daigo tégi-sai. #
 father-this.M 3.S-walk-DUR-PAST.M-still sun-this.M

Therefore he followed the word of her voice and the father was still underway, the sun.

- (19) *Me-réba-i me-reba-i-re ewáíwa +*
 3.S-ascend-PAST.M 3.S-ascend-PAST.M-and and

terusi-we-ge-re qáqo-wai. #
 continuous-3.S-do-PAST room-this.F

And he went up and they stayed in the room.

- (20) *Qáqo-wai-ooo + gíre-wo-wo + níra*
 room-this.F-PAUSE long-be.3.SG.F-CONN day

⁶ Based on Malay verb *bisa* 'can'.

⁷ *Tábeqatori*, from the local Malay *atur tabé* 'to agree on a plan'.

e-wái éite wé-re-re. #
 ATTR-this.F many 3.S-sleep-PAST

They slept a long time in this room, many days.

- (21) *Ago qégi-wa mé-se-rita-i ewáíwa + mé-rai-rita*
 next father-this 3.SG-walk-DUR-M and 3.S-ascend-DUR

méqaro + me-popó-rita-i árawu-ge-i
 house 3.S-knock-DUR-PAST.M you.with-do-Q

mé-era-rita-re no-óte-be. #
 3.S-say-DUR-PAST 1SG-be.ill-PRES

Having walked, the father came to the house and knocked, 'are you there?' and she said, 'I am ill'.

- (22) *Tígo máge mé-era-rita-re + mé-se-rita-i*
 so thus 3.SG-say-DUR-PAST 3.S-go-DUR-PAST.M

mágerere mágerere a + ógora soqúwai mo-óte-be
 hus thus ah Q long 3.SG-be.ill-PRES

ewáíwa + mé-era-i áreqaro náwe-íidio-ra. #
 next 3.S-say-PAST.M door open-stand-IMP.SG

Because she said so, he went and having thought 'oh, how long is she ill!', he said, 'open the door!'

- (23) *Nawe-we-idio-i órewo + Ariqíware-sai urú-qu. #*
 open-3.S-stand-PAST.M woman Ariqíware-this.M together-?

He opened and the woman and Ariqíware were together.

- (24) *Jadi + mé-era-re órewo-wa egábara*
 therefore 3.SG-say-PAST woman-this NEG.IMP

nápaigo-i e-sée-sa +
 divide-ADV 2SG-cut-FUT

épe-gáage-ra sée-ra + nápaigo-i e-sée-sa
 leg-one.side-for cut-IMP.SG divide-ADV 2SG-cut-FUT

níroro-go giáta-sa + íwaqe épe-sai. #
 darkness-CIRC be.continuous-FUT allright foot-this.M

Therefore the woman said, 'do not cut through, cut off just one leg, if you cut him through, it will be dark forever, his leg is allright'.

- (25) *E-rá wé-idio-i áreqaro baru*
 3SG-for 3.S-open-PAST.M door and

qetáiraro-go mé-qobo-i + nágo-go
 rattan-CIRC 3.S-hit-PAST.M one.time-CIRC

mé-qobo-i + áwoqe nágo-go áwoqe nágo-go-wa
 3.S-hit-PAST.M again one.time-CIRC again one.time-CIRC-this

terus míogago-i me-sée-i + épe-sai-ra
 next in.return-ADV 3.S-cut-PAST.M foot-his-to

me-sée-i baru + sóbaro-wai
3.S-cut-PAST.M next bamboo-this.F

mé-iwiw-i-re qai-w-eró-i-wai. #
3.SG-take-PAST.M-and put.in-3.S-put-PAST.M-thus

He opened the door to him and he (the sun) hit one time with a rattan, and then another time, and another time and next he (Ariqíware) in his turn cut him, his leg he cut off and he took a bamboo and put it in (its place).

- (26) *Qai-w-eró-i ewáíwa suda + sóbaro mó-uwe. #*
put.in-3.S-put-PAST.M and so bamboo 3.S-sit.PAST
He put in into the bamboo and there it sat.

- (27) *E-ra we-qawa-re níra é-wai éite-wo*
3SG-for 3.S-wait-PAST day ATTR-this.F many-be.3SG.F

mú-uwege-re úrago e-wái
3.S-be.dark-PAST world ATTR-this.F

mú-uwege-re + tégi náwo i-yaigo sebab épe-ra
3.S-be.dark-PAST sun not rise-NEG because foot.M-for

we-sée sai-ara mógo mó-uwu-i + sampai
3.S-cut this.M-? wounded(?) 3.S-sit-PAST.M until

épe-sai-wa suda báí-we-ge-re kelúari-we-ge-i. #
leg.M-this.M-this already good-3.SG-do-PAST go.out-3.S-do-PAST.M

They waited a long time and it was dark, the whole world was dark, the sun did not rise because he (Ariqíware) had cut off his leg and he (the sun) sat wounded until his leg had recovered and he went out again.

- (28) *Kelúari-we-ge-i ewáíwa oo + mó-ura-re woiwi*
go.out-3.S-do-PAST.M and oh 3.S-see-Past thus

sówat-e-go tiráseretirae-i baru gágowo-wé-ge-re +
good-M-CIRC slowly-ADV and compose-3.S-do-PAST

dérió éwai + téga-qóre-sai me-ráwo-ida-i + máge wé-era-re. #
chant this.F sun-shine-this.M 3.S-rise-?-PAST.M thus 3.S-say-PAST

He (the sun) went out again and they could see that he went slowly in the right fashion and they composed this *derió* chant⁸ that they utter when the sun rises:

- (29) *Abo-ábogáawo Dewárusi awéro-wo*
morning-morning.light Dewárusi high-at

mé-re-bi-yo Erepa-w-awéro-wo mé-re-bi-o
3.S-shine-PRES-EMP Erepa-TR-high-at 3.S-shine-PRES-EMP

níro dádore níro-riro dádore
night many night-night many

⁸ Recorded March 14, 1994, in the house of Bernard Mitogai in Inanwatan, the lead singer and *góuto* player is Augus Yawae, the *derió* specialist of Inanwatan; Dominggus Murray and Bernard Mitogai also joined the singing.

níro dádore tégo tégo dádore tégo dádore

night many day day many day many

The morning light shines over Dewarusi land, over Erepa⁹ land it shines; many nights, many, many nights, many days, many, many days.

3. Fife text

Bernard Mitogai (born in Inanwatan around 1930, former *Kepala Desa*) told me this story of the *túgarido* genre in February 1994 in his house in Inanwatan.

In this text about the man Fife, the founding father of the Inanwatan *fam* Fife, it is told how in ancient times the people of Inanwatan, Bedare, Isogo, Puragi and Kasuweri lived together as one tribe in the area around the hill Girifo which oversees the lake Air Mati which is the source of the Metamani river. Fife belonged to this tribe but he lived alone because he suffered from leprosy, a disease viewed as a curse of God and so strongly taboo that Inanwatan people refuse to mention the name of the disease (*bíraqito*) and in this text the disease is referred to as 'the bad body' (line (4)).

Fife hears how the people talk about him ('his body is bad') and frustrated and angry because of his isolation, Fife sings a magic *derió* chant (see introduction to Text A 1, the Nawora story) while hitting his big gong. Fife invokes with his *derió* the jungle and the wind, and soon the sky darkens with rainstorms and the resulting flood destroys the village and carries the people in all directions to their present places in the Puragi, Kokoda and Inanwatan areas.

Text

- (1) *Iro*¹⁰ *túgarido íra-séro qé-bido mó-uwu-ge Gíririfo-qai. #*
gong heirloom gong-word speak-1PL.INC.ADH 3.S-sit-PAST Giririfo-in
Let us tell the story of the inherited gong which is in Giririfo.

- (2) *Air Mati-go wé-qe-rita + mútero-go dúiti*
Air Mati-CIRC 3.S-say-HAB together-CIRC we(IN)
*gé-ra-rita Air Mati*¹¹ *sáro-wasu mái-wo-tewe*
1PL.INC.S-say-HAB Air Mati multitude-these here-at-from

mé-rowo-be + itatábo-wasu. #

3.S-descend-PRES ancestors-these

In Air Mati they say, we all call it Air Mati, from there all the ancestors came down.

⁹ Erepa and Dewarusi are the names of two adjacent ancestral territories, situated along the headwater of the Siganoi river (see Map 6 in van Oosterhout 2002:173). This *derió* used to be sung before sunrise to make the sun rise, the lines of the song were repeated over and over until the sun had risen.

¹⁰ The copper gongs are a characteristic part of the Inanwatan traditional wealth. In 1994 the gongs costed around Rph 750.000. The gongs are still important in Inanwatan life, for example when communal labour is carried out.

¹¹ The Malay name *Air Mati* ('Dead Water') is used here for the lake that forms the origin of the Metamani river. The Inanwatan name for that lake is *óbaragobó*. Informants said (in Malay) that the lake is called Air Mati because the water *tidak bergerak* ('it does not move'). The Puragi name for the lake is Kátamo. See van Oosterhout (2002:26) for the association between ancestral spirits and the motionless stillness of Air Mati.

- (3) *Agó írubu-wasu mé-te-re otí-wasu + Puraqi-d-áura +*
 and relative-these 3.S-stand-PAST also-these Puragi-TR-people
Saga-rásaru + Bédari-aura + mé-te-re Gésowerigo-b-aura +
 Saga-NOM.PL Bedare-people 3.S-stand-PAST Kasuweri-TR-people
Isog-aura + otí-dari Irorowatóro-wai gé-rowo-re
 Isogo-people also-from Inanwatan-this.F 3.S-descend-PAST
máro-wai aida-wo máro wé-ra-re ewái. #
 village-this.F big-be.3.SG.F village 3.S-do-PAST this.F
 The ancestors and the relatives were there, the Puragi people, the Saga people,
 the Bedare people, the Kasuweri people, the Isogo people and also those from
 Inanwatan came down; they built this big village here.
- (4) *Mésida-e Fife esái + íragiri-sai nágo*
 person-M Fife this.M. body.M-this.M. like
gé-ra-rita íragiri-sai badái-so-sai +
 1PL.INC-say-HAB body.M-this.M bad-be.3.SG.M-this.M
awére-sai + tóuqedesiri¹² hidupi-m-é-rita-i
 grandfather-this.M on.his.own live-3.S-do-HAB-PAST.M
íro-wai tigída-wo + mé-tobo-rita-i
 gong-this.F his-F 3.S-listen-HAB-PAST.M
séro-ri esái duu + é-ra
 word-PL this.M oh.dear 3SG-for
we-qé-rita-re má-ge-re-re má-ge-re-re
 3.S-say-HAB-PAST thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and
mé-ra-i eise-wasu + náwe-ra mé-qe-rita-wasu +
 3.S-say-PAST.M you(PL)-these me-for 3.S-talk-HAB-they
a suda iro awéro ewái qásugoi-werawu
 ah already gong big this.F hang-NOM.PAST
ao éwai mé-ra-i ewái tebéqo
 wood his.F 3.S-take-PAST.M this.F stick
ewái tigó + mé-woratabo-i + nágo-go-re
 this.F already 3.S-hit.hard-PAST.M one-CIRC-and
dério riseri¹³ mé-wore-i + máge mé-ra-i. #
 chant he.himself 3.S-speak-PAST.M thus 3.S-say-PAST.M
 The man Fife, his body was, as we use to say, bad and this ancestor lived on his
 own with his gong and when he heard, aduh! what they said about him, thus he
 spoke, 'because you talk about me, ah, the gong is hanging already' and he took
 the stick and he hit (the gong) hard one time and he himself uttered a *dériyo* chant,
 as follows:

¹² Loan based on Malay *tersendiri*.

¹³ *riseri*: based on Malay *dia sendiri*.

- (5) *Béráguro + náme óbowe*¹⁴ + *ámepuro + náme óbowe*. #
 forest me listen.IMP great.wind me listen.IMP
 'Forest, listen to me, great wind, listen to me!'
- (6) *Baru íro ewái me-sé-rita ámepuro náme óbowe*
 and gong this.F 3.S-hit-HAB great.wind me listen.IMP
béráguro náme óbowe + baru íro ewái me-sé-rita-i. #
 forest me listen.IMP and gong this.F 3.S-hit-HAB-PAST.M
 And he was hitting the gong, 'great wind listen to me, forest, listen to me!', and
 he was hitting the gong.
- (7) *Má-ge-re-re mó-ura-re-wo mé-i-di-dere-wai*
 thus-do-PAST-and 3.S-see-PAST-CONN 3.S-descend-PAST-until-this
*áwero-wo qáqia-tebéqo-wai*¹⁵ *máro áwero ewái +*
 above-in sail-beam-this.F village above this
*tutupi-we-gé-re + paráto óderi*¹⁶ *me-géraqé-re*
 cover-3.S-do-PAST rain thunder 3.S-flood(?) -PAST
sekarang Air Mati-go ge-qé-rita. #
 now Air Mati-CIRC IPL.INC.S-speak-HAB
 Thus what they saw was (like) a sail-beam above descending until above the
 village there were rain and thunder covering the place we now call Air Mati.
- (8) *Tígo ao séro aga gébiro*.¹⁷ #
 so its word POSS tree
 Finished the tree of the story.

4. Batúre and the Flood

This story of the *túgarido* genre is about a flood in ancient times caused by the anger of the ceramic jar Batúre. The flood creates the Siganoi tributary and carries some Inanwatan people as far as the Sele Strait. Notice that according to Voorhoeve (1975:440) in the Sele Strait area a language is spoken which is closely related to Inanwatan, the Duriankari language. The Inanwatan say that the Duriankari people are descendants from the Inanwatan people who were carried to the Sele Strait by the flood caused by Batúre.

During the flood, some Inanwatan people submerged in the water and became *muwúqo* fish. There were also Inanwatan people who saved themselves by becoming flying foxes. Both *muwúqo* fish and flying foxes used to be taboo food items.

¹⁴ The chant is in the Puragi language, not in the Inanwatan language.

¹⁵ The *qáqia tebéqo* 'beam of the sail' is the horizontal beam around which the sail is rolled when it is not used. The approaching thunderstorm is compared with a sail that is being rolled from its beam.

¹⁶ The thunderstorm, which is the result of Fife's chant, causes a flood that disperses the groups mentioned in (3). The theme of *dério* chants causing floods that in their turn disperse people, occurs in many Inanwatan texts dealing with migrations of groups of people.

¹⁷ This is a conventional closing formula of a story.

This is one of the best-known flood stories of the Inanwatan. A Malay version of this story occurs in Miedema (1997:62). See van Oosterhout (2002:209) for an interpretation of the myth in the context of Inanwatan ethnography.

The narrator of this text is Agustinus Yawae, 61 year old, with three years elementary school and one of the Inanwatan people with a relatively limited command of Malay. From line (23) on, the narrator is Dominggus Murray who was present when Agustinus Yawae was telling his version.

Text

- (1) *Pigére*¹⁸ *néri-sai* *Batúre-sai-ere* + *iráte-ira-sai*
 jar name.M-this.M Batúre-this.M-and place-place-this.M
órido + *toqó-wo* *wé-i-rita*. #
 riverbank palmwine-at 3.S-descend-HAB
 There was an ceramic jar named Batúre, his place was on the riverbank where they produce palmwine.
- (2) *Mái-wo* *ewáíwa-sai* *níra-rapago-i* *érawise* *masu-wa*
 now-at and-this.M day-each-ADV maiden.PL these-this
máiwa *urú* *we-qée-rita-re* *apápuro-go*¹⁹ +
 thus together 3.S-play-HAB-PAST red.fruit-CIRC
atatúri-go *we-qée-rita-re*. #
 grandfather-CIRC 3.S-play-HAB-PAST
 Now each day the young maidens used to play there together, with the *apápuro* fruit and with grandfather they used to play.
- (3) *Níra* *ragé-wo-go* + *Dúweqau* *mé-rawe-re*
 day one-LOC-CIRC Dúweqau 3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST
suqó *nói-beqewu* *eráwira-otó-wo-wa* +
 sago pound-to(SG) maiden-young-CONN-this
apápuro-go *uru-we-qée-rita-re* *érawise*
 red.fruit-CIRC together-3.S-play-HAB-PAST maiden.PL
érerao-wai-go *mai* *nawe-wigo* *wai*
 other.PL-this.F-CIRC this.F go.up.over.land-while this.F
nai-wé-tira-re. #
 go.up-3.S-take-PAST
 On a certain day Duweqau went up to pound sago and the maidens were playing together with the *apápuro* fruit with other girls and she took (a fruit) on her way up.
- (4) *Nai-wé-tira-re* *ewáíwa* + *mógo-wé-rawe-re*
 go.up-3.S-take-PAST and carry-3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST

¹⁸ Antique ceramic jars played an important role in Inanwatan bridal payments until the 1960s.

¹⁹ The *apápuro* is a small round red fruit. Inanwatan children like to play with this fruit. Trying to hit each other with these fruits is popular among young people. In this text, they play that game with Batúre who is respectfully referred to in this line as 'grandfather'.

méwo-wo me-sái-re dawáo-wo +
hand.PL-in 3.S-warm-PAST dawáo.fruit-CONN

negó-y-aigo + magé-i tígo méwo-wo
put-TR-NEG thus.do-ADV so hand.PL-in

me-sái-re suqó-wai qeqúqu-ru me-rói-de
3.S-warm-PAST sago-this.F parent.PL-with 3.S-pound-PAST

ewáu-go + áwoqe mé-rowo-re. #
afternoon-CIRC again 3.S-come.down-PAST

She took (a fruit) and carried it up in her hands and the *dawáo* fruit became warm in her hands, she did not put it down and thus keeping it in her hands she pounded sago with her parents and in the afternoon they returned.

- (5) *Mé-rowo-re-wo e urú*
3.S-come.down-PAST-CONN EXCL together

we-qée-rita-re árubu gérrerao
3.S-play-HAB-PAST companions other.PL

agó-wai tígo dawáo méwo-wo me-sái-re
and-this.F so dawáo.fruit hand.PL-in 3.S-warm-PAST

me-sówoigiawo-wo + qer-é-sai é-ra we-qiórego-re. #
3.S-throw.forcefully-CONN ear-M-this.M 3SG-from 3.S-come.loose-PAST

They returned and, hey, the other companions were still playing together and she forcefully threw the *dawáo* fruit, which had become warm in her hands and his ear came loose.

- (6) *E-ra me-qiórego-re ewáíwa + aiba-qá-we-ra-i +*
3SG-from 3.S-come.loose-PAST and voice-3.S-cry-PAST.M

adée + Batúure + na-qeré-e adée + Batúure + na-qeré-e. #
oh.dear Batúure my-ear.M-EXCL oh.dear Batúure my-ear.M-EXCL
His ear came loose and he cried, 'oh dear, Batúure, my ear, oh dear, Batúure, my ear'.

- (7) *A tígo madéi tigó + uwó²⁰ ewái mi-ai-soi +*
ah so already so road this.F 3.S-follow-that.M.SG

nóe-beqewu gobó-wai. #
go.out-to(SG) sea-this.F

Ah, thus he followed the road in order to come out to the sea.

- (8) *Agó írowo neqó-reqo me-reqá-rita-re*
and body catch-catch 3.S-go.PL-HAB-and

íbi-go me-badágo-rita-i + írowo-sai-sai
behind-CIRC 3.S-attack-DUR-PAST.M body-this.M-this.M

²⁰ Mr Murray who helped me with the transcription, remarked at this point that the road mentioned in this line is the Siganoi which was a land road before the Flood told about in this story.

*muwu-gé-re-re*²¹ # *íro-wé-se-rita-i*. #
 'muwu'-thus-do-PAST-and body-3.S-go-DUR-PAST.M
 And they were trying to catch (him) and he attacked (them) *muwu* with his behind.

- (9) *Má-ge-re-re neqo-y-aigo me-roé tígo + uwó*
 thus-do-PAST-and catch-TR-NEG 3.S-go.out.PAST.M so road
tira-i + Usuqó-gobó ewáíwa + uwá-rero. #
 take-ADV Usuqó-land and path-name
 They did not catch him and he went out via the Usuqo territory, that's the name of the path.

- (10) *Mai-wó me-roé ewáíwa + gobó mi-átu-i*. #
 this.SG-at 3.S-go.out.PAST.M and sea 3.S-ascend-PAST.M
 Via that way he went out and took to the sea.

- (11) *Gobó ewáíwa + qaqé-sai tígo neró-wo we-re-i*
 sea and sail-this.M so name-CONN 3.S-say-PAST.M
qaqé-re + pigeré-re séro we-qe-re. #
 sail-and jar-and word 3.S-speak-PAST
 To the sea and he called Sail and Sail and Jar held council.

- (12) *Séro we-qe-re ewáíwa + ériwa tígo-wo*
 word 3.S-speak-PAST and two so-be.3SG.F
qaqé-wa me-qíba-i pigeré-sai qáidíqi +
 sail-this 3.S-first-PAST.M jar-this.M at.rear
qaqé-sai mé-reso-rita-i mé-qoba-rita-i. #
 sail-this.M 3.S-throw-DUR-PAST.M 3.S-roll-DUR-PAST.M
 They held council and the two of them, Sail first and Jar second, and Sail threw out and rolled out.

- (13) *Mé-reso-rita-i mé-qoba-rita-i*
 3.S-throw-DUR-PAST.M 3.S-roll-DUR-PAST.M
pigeré-sai qáidíqi tigó + agó sáa-wai
 jar-this.M at.rear so and water-this.F
qáidíqi mó-owo-re uwó tira-i
 at.rear 3.S-go.upstream-PAST road take-ADV
sáa-wai qai-wo-owo-re
 water-this.F follow-3.S-go.upstream-PAST
*agá múro*²² *móqede gé-ro-rita*. #
 POSS river like 1PL.INC-row-DUR
 He threw, he rolled out and they, with Jar behind him and then the water, they followed the road upstream which we now use as a river.

21 'Mwu' is the sound made by the jar Batúre when he attacked the girls with his behind.

22 Meant is the Siganoi.

- (14) *Usóqo gobó mái-wo e má-ge-re-re*
 Usóqo territory here-at EXCL thus-do-PAST-and
mó-owo-re máiwa tigo + mi-átu-ge sáa ewái agó-wasu +
 3.S-go.upstream-PAST next so 3.S-ascend-PAST water this.F and-they
mésida-e rage ésai márouru-sai tígo Dúweqau egí-sai +
 man-M one that.M offspring-this.M so Dúweqau father-this.M
méqaro-wo-qede + sáa-wai mi-átu-ri-aigo-sai-tigo
 house-in-TOP water-this.F 3.S-ascend-not.be-NEG-this.M-so
méwoqo-wasu mé-qugo-i. #
 dog-these 3.S-cut-PAST.M
 So via the Usoqo land they entered here and the water rose and one man with his children, the father of Duweqau, were still in the house and while the water rose, the man slaughtered his dogs.
- (15) *Tigo mé-qugo-i-re meqáro-wai gáwo wé-ge-i. #*
 so 3.S-cut-PAST.M-PAST house-this.F round 3.S-do-PAST.M
 Next, having slaughtered, he put (the pieces) around the house.
- (16) *Sáa-wai máiwa mi-átu-rita-re*
 water-this.F next 3.S-ascend-DUR-PAST
ewáíwa + mewoqa-ga qáruqo urá bei-we-rita-re
 and dog.PL-POSS blood DEM block(?) -3.S-DUR-PAST
mó-uwu-i-sai. #
 3.S-sit-PAST.M-this.M
 The water rose but the blood of the dogs stopped it and it (the water) stayed.
- (17) *Qaqoróru mái-wo tíi-we-ge-i tígo-wom +*
 child.PL here-at silent-3.S-do-PAST.M so-be.3SG.F
árubu gérrao-wasu-aigo éro-wai qeqído tigo
 relatives other.PL-these-NEG canoe-this.F not so
íro tuebe-mi-a-re. #
 body late-3.S-be-PAST
 The children kept silent, others had no canoe, they were too late.
- (18) *Ererao-wasu éro-éro mi-átu-ge*
 other.PL-these canoe-canoe 3.S-board.ship-PAST
mé-ro-re tígo sáa-go mé-i-de. #
 3.S-row-PAST so water-CIRC 3.S-descend-PAST
 Others went into the canoes and rowed and thus they descended with the water.
- (19) *Ererao tígo máge-tira-i mé-i-de*
 other.PL so thus-take-ADV 3.S-descend-PAST

*érrao úra m-ówe-re gágeto-wai.*²³ #

other.PL DEM 3.S-go.up-PAST headwater-this.F

While some thus descended, still others went up to the headwater.

- (20) *Awero-go ró-ró níreridee + nigé-ro-rita-wo +*
up-CIRC row-row older.brother 1PL.S-row-DUR-CONN

agó qáqo-wasu mé-ra-i-qede a tíide-ra-e-qede +
but child-these 3.S-say-PAST.M-? ah silent-IMP-PL-?

*egábara áibo gé-ra-sa.*²⁴ #

NEG.IMP voice 2PL.S-say-FUT

Above those who were rowing (said), 'Older brother, we are rowing but he ordered the children to be silent, do not speak!'

- (21) *Qeququú-wo qaqó-wo líi-we-ge-re +*
parent.PL-CONN child-CONN silent-3.S-do-PAST

áibo-wo ra-y-áigo áwero-go nigé-ro-rita-wo +
voice-CONN say-TR-NEG up-CIRC 1PL.S-row-DUR-CONN

áibo-wo na-y-aigo. #
voice-CONN make-TR-NEG

Both the parents and the children were silent and did not speak, although above (they called), 'we are rowing', they did not speak.

- (22) *Tígo-wo seró-ura.*²⁵ #

so-be.3SG.F word-DEM

Thus is the story.

Addition by Mr Murray

- (23) *Ererao-wasu qái-qede méduro-wai*
other.PL-these behind-TOP wing-this.F

beraqáqabo-wai méduro qai-qai we-tirá-re ewáíwa +
mat-this.F wing behind-behind 3.S-take-PAST and

nówo-go mé-we-re me-róo-re. #

flying.fox-CIRC 3.S-give-PAST 3.S-fly-PAST

Again others imitated wings with sleeping mats and became flying foxes and flew away.

²³ The Inanwatan say that in ancient times, there was no sea separating the Bomberai peninsula from the south coast of the Bird's Head. Just a river flowed where now the MacCluer Gulf is. The Inanwatan talk about the MacCluer Gulf in river terms: Bintuni is upstream and Sorong is downstream. In this line, it is told how the flood carried some people 'upstream' in the direction of the Bintuni area and others 'downstream' in the direction of Sorong.

²⁴ According to the informant Murray, the water surrounded Duweqau and her family like a high wall, and if they would answer the call for help from the rowing people above, the sound of their voices would immediately cause the water to fall on them.

²⁵ This is a conventional way to end a story. After this line, Mr Murray, who helped me to transcribe this text, continues.

- (24) *Ererao-wasu sáa-wa mé-tera-re muwúgo-go*
 ther.PL-these water-this 3.S-submerge-PAST muwuqo.fish-CIRC
érerao-wai-go Sórurao-wo Selat Sele ága ge-tóbo-rita
 other.PL-this.F-CIRC Sorong-to Strait Sele and 1PL.INC-listen-DUR
qéro-ere eragatá-ere qéro-wai me-túqu-ge ewáíwa óbaro
 arrow-and outrigger-and arrow-this.F 3.S-plant-PAST and shoot
wé-se-re sekarang suqó ura mé-rebai-re mai-óti ireró-wai
 3.S-go-PAST now sago DEM 3.S-grow-PAST this-also bamboo-this.F
óbaro wé-se-re iréra-qúro-go mé-we-re.²⁶ #
 shoot 3.S-go-PAST bamboo-shoot-CIRC 3.S-give-PAST
 Others submerged in the water as *muwuqo* fish and still others (went) to Sorong
 and the Sele Strait and we heard they planted there arrows and outriggers which
 had shoots and now grow there.
- (25) *Tígo ao séro to úra-wa. #*
 so its word true DEM-this
 Thus its true story is this.

5. The story of the sagotree, the parrot and the cockatoo

This story was told to me by D. Murray on 28 February 1994. It belongs to the *túgarido* genre (see introduction to Text A 1, the Nawora text). The topic of the short text is the origin of the way the Inanwatan people pound sago, of the colours of the red parrot and the baldness of the white cockatoo.

Text

- (1) *Mái-wo-go + suqá-sero qé-bido. #*
 now-at-CIRC sago-story tell-1PL.INC.ADH
 Let us now tell the story of the sagotree.
- (2) *Suqó-wai + ibáu-go ewái + deraqóbo-go*
 sago-this.F formerly-CIRC this.F pointed.stick-CIRC
mó-u-rita-re + tíra-tira-we-i-rita-re ewáíwa
 3.S-fell-HAB-PAST take-take-3.S-pierce-HAB-PAST and
íde-wó-u-rita-re + suqó-wai íbau éwai
 INTR-3.S-fell-HAB-PAST sago-this.F formerly this.F

²⁶ The arrows of the Inanwatan are made from the ribs of sago-leaves and the outriggers from bamboo. The planting of their arrows and outriggers resulted in the growth of sago and bamboo.

*sugeré-wai*²⁷ *me-tetéi-rita-re. #*

raw.sago-this.F 3.S-cut-HAB-PAST

Formerly, they used to fell the sagotree with a pointed stick, they pierced it repeatedly and then it would fall and they would cut the sagotree in blocks of raw sago.

- (3) *Ide-wo-u-rita-ri-aigo* *me-tetéi-se-rita-re +*
INTR-3.S-fell-HAB-not.be-NEG 3.S-cut-cut.into.blocks-HAB-PAST

*qetáwirido tetétebo*²⁸ *me-rápago-rita-re. #*

container.PL container.PL 3.S-distribute-HAB-PAST

While it fell, they used to cut it into blocks/lumps and fill containers with it.

- (4) *Má-ge-re-re* *má-ge-re-re +duqúrewe ériwo + qeqéi-d-ere*
thus-do-PAST-and thus-do-PAST-and bird.PL two white.cockatoo-TR-and
atau qékaqe-re sído-ere sídero-wa sídero ewáíwa
or cockatoo-and red.parrot-and parrot-this parrot and

qékaqe-wa mé-ra-i qáa-bido. #

cockatoo-this 3.S-say-PAST.M pound.sago-1PL.INC.ADH

This being so, there were two birds, a cockatoo and a parrot and the cockatoo said to the parrot, 'let us pound sago'.

- (5) *Qáa-bido* *ewáíwa + nói-bido áwoge. #*
pound.sago-1PL.INC.ADH and knead-1PL.INC.ADH again
Let us pound sago and then knead it.

- (6) *Ewi sídero máíwa qeqído-wo + sídero-wa*
but parrot next not-be.3.SG.F parrot-this

*naqíde we-ra-re máqo-wai-re*²⁹

quickly 3.S-take-PAST sago.pounder-this.F-and

*qékaqe ái-ra me-qáa-re.*³⁰ #

cockatoo head-on 3.S-pound.sago-PAST

But the parrot said, 'No!', and quickly took the sagopounder and pounded the cockatoo on he head.

- (7) *Ai-ra we-qáa-re máíwa + abotéira isíso*
head-on 3.S-pound.sago-PAST next crown.of.head empty.M
It pounded (him) on the head and the crown became bald.

²⁷ See §1.8 for the processing of sago. Every step in this process is hard work but in ancient times, according to this story, the whole thing was an easy job: they just pricked a round of holes in the soft sagotree causing the sagotree (*suqó*) to fall after which lumps of ready-to-bake sago (*sugére*) could straightaway be cut out of the felled tree. The two labor-intensive steps of pounding and kneading were not needed then. The story now proceeds to explain how come this sago-paradise was lost because of the actions of the cockatoo.

²⁸ *qetáwiro* and *tébo* sago containers are made from the inside of shafts of sagoleaves. They differ in form: *qetáwiro* containers are round and *tébo* containers rectangular.

²⁹ A kind of hammer made from pieces of wood to loosen the fibres inside the sagotree.

³⁰ Since the verb *qáa-* is normally only used with the undergoer 'sago' the use of *qékaqe* 'cockatoo' as undergoer of this verb gives an humoristic effect and this line caused a lot of laughter.

- (8) *Míogai qeqéi-wa + maqápo-qe + uwúta-wora*
 in.return white.cockatoo-this fire-TOP piece.of.wood.with.burning.end
naqíde wé-ra-i + sídero-wai qúgo-i
 quickly 3.S-take-PAST.M parrot-this.F burn-ADV
qúgo-i mé-tira-i + ága gó-ura-rita íragiro
 burn-ADV 3.S-do-PAST.M and 1PL.INC.S-see-HAB body
naqáragibo-ere údagibo-ere ái-wa + ái-ra gó-ura-rita
 redness-and blackness-and head-this head-on 1PL.INC.S-see-HAB
údagibo-ewái + údowo-wai máqapa-údo. #
 blackness-this.F charcoal-this.F fire-charcoal
 In return, the cockatoo quickly took a burning piece of wood and caused burns
 on the parrot and we see that its body is red and black on the head, the blackness
 we see on the head is the charcoal of the fire.

6. Yospan song

Yospan is an Malay acronym based on *yosim* and *pancat*, two dance-forms originally from the Wandamen/Biak area. *Yospan* is a mix of those two dance forms that became very popular throughout Irian Jaya as a modern dance form replacing older, traditional dance-forms. The young men and boys play drums (*tifa*) and home made guitars (*ukulele*) and sing, the girls and young women dance. Popular themes in the *yospan* songs are relationships of love and affection, between lovers, between parents and children, between people and their native land or native village, expressed in a few lines that are repeated over and over again. The Inanwatan love to *yospan* and do it both for special occasions and with no special reason at all, just to amuse themselves. The song text reproduced here, was recorded on 13 September 1995 when the Inanwatan performed *yospan* in honour of a visiting delegation of the regional parliament in Sorong.

Text

- (1) *Ore norá-o*³¹ *náwadai é-ta-rita áretera-ga séro-wo*
 oh girl-F from.me 2SG.S-go-DUR whatever-POSS word-EMPH
néra-y-aigo náwadai é-ta-sa.
 tell-TR-NEG from.me 2SG.S-go-FUT
 Oh, girl, you are leaving me, without a single word you are going to leave me.
- (2) *Do io sé-ra-wo do io sé-ra-wo*
 EMPH ADH go-IMP.SG-EMPH EMPH ADH go-IMP.SG-EMPH
áwoge náwe-ra náwe-ra qeré-igo-ra qeré-igo-ra náwe-ra
 again me-for me-for ear-think-IMP.SG ear-think-IMP.SG me-for

³¹ From Malay *nona*.

náwe-ra qeré-igo-ra.

me-for ear-think-IMP.SG

Allright, go away, go away but remember me, remember me, remember me.

- (3) *Káwa móido káwao móido*
pounding.stick worksong(?) pounding.stick worksong

gúgo né-ra-sa árowo nó-qo-sa ne-rói-sa.

sago.fibres 1SG-take-FUT sagoleafshaft 1SG.S-put-FUT 1SG.S-knead-FUT

The pounding worksong, the pounding stick worksong, I will take the sago, put it in the shaft and knead it.

7. How the coastal people met the jungle people

This text was recorded in 1994 in Inanwatan. The narrator is Set Eramuri, from the *desa* Mate, a man of 50 years old, with six years of elementary school. The text tells how the Inanwatan people from the coast, fish-eaters, and the Inanwatan people of the interior, pig-eaters, met each other for the first time. After initial mutual fear, they decide to come together and to settle in a new village at the headwater of the Siganoi. The text belongs to the *tugarido* genre. The Inanwatan like this story very much, especially the parts that tell how the fish-eaters vomited when first eating pig, and the pig-eaters vomited when first eating fish.

Text

- (1) *Nárido + ná-tatabo + maa + ketemu-we-gé-re + n-irubu*
my my-ancestor.PL PAUSE meet-3.S-do-PAST my-relatives
masú-gaga tatabo + mógo-wo te-ewésaru. #
they-POSS ancestor.PL jungle-in sit-NOM.PL
My ancestors, eh, they met, my relatives and the ancestors, those who lived in the jungle.
- (2) *Náiti ná-taturi-de ní-tato-wa ní-taturi-sai*
I my-grandfather-and our-grandmother-this our-grandfather-this.M
múteri-so ériwo-re ní-tatabo wa-qe órewe-wasu ériwo. #
one-be.3.SG.M two-and our-ancestor.PL this.F-TOP women-they two
My grandfather, our grandmother, our grandfather, one, two, our ancestors and their two wives.
- (3) *Suqó we-rói-rita-ri-aigo + suqó*
sago 3.S-pound.sago-DUR-not.be-NEG sago
we-rói-rita-ri-aigo + níra-wai ériqo + éri-nagiare
3.S-pound.sago-DUR-not.be-NEG day-this.F two two-one
ewáíwa ma + n-irubu + áwera-rasaru
and PAUSE my-relatives above-NOM.PL

*isíbowo*³² *bidó-wai me-rágo-re*
sago.bait pig-this.F 3.S-pierce-PAST

níro-go + a a níro-go + baru bidó ewáíwa mé-se-re. #
night-CIRC ah ah night-CIRC and pig and 3.S-go-PAST
They were pounding sago, pounding sago, during two or three days and their
relatives from higher grounds speared a pig at a sago-bait in the night and in
the night the pig went away.

- (4) *Mé-se-re ewáíwa + nírido ní-tatábo bow-ága suqa-gebó*
3.S-go-PAST and our our-grandparent.PL sago.shaft-POSS sago-underside
me-rói-rita-ri-aigo bówo wo-rói-rita-wo
3.S-pound.sago-DUR-not.be-NEG sago.shaft 3.S-pound.sago-DUR-LOC

mói-agaga gébo-wo nare-wé-we-re + mé-ru-ge. #
there-POSS down-LOC dead-3.S-be(?) -PAST 3.S-die-PAST
It went and our grandparents, ah, under a sago-shaft where they were pounding
sago, where they were pounding, there under the shaft, there it lay dead.

- (5) *Mé-ru-ge gébo-wo + a baru agó ábo-go*
3.S-die-PAST down-in ah and but morning-CIRC
mé-te-re ní-taturi-d-ere ní-tató-ere
3.S-sit.PL-PAST our-grandfather-TR-and our-grandmother-and
mé-rawe-re soridásiqo suqó rói-birowu +
3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST sago.acreage sago pound.sago-in.order.to.PL
e mó-ura-re-wo bído-wai + nare-we-de + a nare-we-de +
EXCL 3.S-see-PAST-CONN pig-this.F dead-3.S-PAST ah dead-3.S-PAST

adó adó úra bído úra mé-rare-wai + ewéte-wa me-rágo-re. #
oh.dear oh.dear DEM pig DEM 3.S-dead-this.F who-this 3.S-pierce-PAST
He was dead, under it, ah and the next morning our grandfather and grandmother
woke up and went up to pound sago in their sago acreage and, hey, they saw the
pig dead, oh dear, oh dear, the pig is dead, who speared it?

- (6) *Baru + yang nágo-ewesaru ewásu*
next that pierce-NOM.PL these
áruqo qai-wé-rowo-re. #
blood follow-3.S-come.down-PAST
And the people who had speared (the pig), they came down to follow the bloodtrail.

- (7) *Aruqo qai-wé-rowo-re wé-rowo-re*
blood follow-3.S-come.down-PAST 3.S-come.down-PAST
wé-rowo-re wé-rowo-re + mógo ewái
3.S-come.down-PAST 3.S-come.down-PAST territory this.F

³² The term *isíbowo* is used for a sagotree that has been felled and made a hole in for the purpose of attracting wild pigs which are killed with spears from a nearby hiding place. The sagotree is felled in such a way as to block a trail frequently used by wild pigs (cf. its local Malay name *pete sagu* 'blocking sago').

eité-wo mé-tagáu-ge + mé-tagáu-ge +
how.many-CONN 3.S-traverse-PAST 3.S-traverse-PAST

sampai Idawúgobó mai-wo mai-wo +
until Idawúgobo this.F-at this.F-at

baru nowo-re wé-te-re. #
and come.down-and 3.S-sit-PAST

They came down to follow the bloodtrail, came down and down and down and crossed many clanlands until they arrived at Idawugobo.

- (8) *Qai-reqá-ewesaru mó-ura-re mésida-o urá-owosu*
follow-walk.PL-NOM.PL 3.S-sce-PAST person-PL DEM-those

me-giáresa-re + me-giáresa-re + áretero-go íiwe
3.S-be.afraid-PAST 3.S-be.afraid-PAST what-CIRC 1PL.INC.O

qe-sa-be-dari + íiwe obó-sa-be-ba + íiwe rágo-sa-be. #
do-FUT-3PL-? 1PL.INC.O hit-FUT-3PL-uncertain 1PL.INC.O pierce-FUT-3PL

The people who followed (the trail) saw, there are people and they were afraid, 'what will they do to us?' 'Will they kill us?' 'Will they spear us?'.

- (9) *Mé-te-ri-ara + máge-tewe í-wi-awe-re*
3.S-sit-PAST-and here-from descend-3.S-pay.attention-PAST

eségo-go-tewe + móga-wasu-wa mé-era-re +
far-CIRC-from jungle-these-these 3.S-say-PAST

mai-róe-bido + mai-róe-bido mai-róe-bido
now-go.out-1PL.INC.ADH now-go.out-1PL.INC.ADH now-go.out-1PL.INC.ADH

írowo ége-bido d-irá-giro. #
body show(?) -1PL.INC.ADH 1PL.INC-body-skin

They sat and watched from far until the jungle people said, 'let us show ourselves'.

- (10) *Terus mai-we-róe-re + naté-wi-go³³ awéraqabo*
next this-3.S-go.out-PAST man-wife-CIRC forefathers

naté-wi-ere naté-wi-go mé-era-re mó-ra-e + mó-ra-e
man-wife-and man-wife-CIRC 3.S-say-PAST come-IMP-PL come-IMP-PL

aúra írido bidó-wo aúra máge wé-ra-re + ge-rágo-be. #
over.here your pig-CONN over.here here 3.S-lie-PAST 2PL.S-pierce-PRES
Next they came straight out and grandfather and grandmother said to the (other) grandparental couple, 'Come, over here lies your pig which you have pierced'.

- (11) *Iyó míroqai-webe tigó-wo + áruqo qai-nigé-rowo-be +*
yes true-be it-be.3.SG.F blood.F follow-1PL.EXC.S-come.down-PRES

a áruqo qai-nigé-rowo-be mé-ra-re tígo úra-wai
ah blood follow-1PL.EXC.S-come.down-PRES 3.S-lay-PAST so DEM-this.F

³³ The word *naté-wi* or *naté-bi* is an adapted loan from local Indonesian *laki-bini* 'married couple' (lit. man-wife).

ígo-wo níti nige-rágo-be
so-be.3SG.F we 1PLEX.C.S-pierce-PRES

náiti ne-rágo-be níro-go isíbowo. #
I 1SG.S-pierce-PRES night-CIRC sago.bait

Yes, that is true, we followed the bloodtrail and it lay dead which we speared, which I speared at night at the sagobait.

- (12) *A a mé-era-re dóqe ná-ra-e awáí-ra-ra-e*
ah ah 3.S-say-PAST oh take-IMP-PL pull-take-IMP-PL

téte-ra írido-wo. #
cut-IMP.SG your(PL)-be.3SG.F

They said, 'Allright, take it and slaughter it, it is yours'.

- (13) *Awai-wé-ra-re + awai-wé-ra-re otoqó-wai me-téte-re. #*
pull-3.S-take-PAST pull-3.S-take-and outside-this.F 3.S-cut-PAST
They pulled it out and slaughtered it.

- (14) *Me-téte-re ewáíwa míro-wo + góbo-wo +*
3.S-cut-PAST and belly-CONN liver-CONN

mé-rowo-egó-re + a terus +
3.S-come.down-CAUS-PAST ah continuous

ítato ewáíwa máqapo-wai mé-woqo-re. #
grandmother and fire-this.F 3.S-lit -PAST

They slaughtered it and removed the intestines and the liver and grandmother lit the fire.

- (15) *Mé-woqo-re ewáíwa + mé-qi-de. #*
3.S-lit-PAST and 3.S-cook-PAST
She lit (a fire) and cooked it.

- (16) *Mé-qi-de-re mogá-wo ewásu-wa + táboro-ra ní-ra. #*
3.S-cook-PAST-and jungle-CONN these-these bite-IMP.SG eat-IMP
She cooked it and the jungle people (said), 'Take a bite and eat'.

- (17) *O táqui-sai me-táboro-i*
oh grandfather-this.M 3.S-bite-PAST.M

táqo-wai me-táboro-re + a mé-iqo-re mé-era-re
grandmother-this.F 3.S-bite-PAST ah 3.S-vomit-PAST 3.S-say-PAST

qeqído-wo + badá-wo nigé-iqo-sa
not-be.3SG.F bad-be.3.SG.F 1PLEX.C.S-vomit-FUT

badá-wo-wa + qeqído-wo. #
no.good-be.3.SG.F-this not-be.3SG.F

Oh, grandfather took a bite and grandmother took a bite, ah, they vomited and said, 'No, this is bad, we shall vomit, no good, not at all'.

- (18) *A suda máge míogagoi ní-tato-wa mé-idi-de-re +*
ah so thus in.turn our-grandmother-this 3.S-stand-PAST-and

úto-wai mé-ra-re mésidaro-ere utó-ere mé-ra-re
 fish-this.F 3.S-take-PAST shrimp.species-and fish-and 3.S-take-PAST

mé-we-re. # mogá-wasu. #
 3.S-give-PAST jungle-these

Ah, thus, in their turn, our grandmother took fish and shrimp and gave it to the jungle people.

- (19) *Míqa ní-ra-e-da mé-ri-de*
 ADH eat-IMP-PL-? 3.S-eat-PAST

mé-igo-re áwoqe a + a mé-igo-re. #
 3.S-vomit-PAST again ah ah 3.S-vomit-PAST

Try to eat it and they ate and vomited and again, ah, they vomited.

- (20) *Awoge máge níra ériwa éwi mé-era-re níra ériqo m-é-sa-be +*
 again thus day two just 3.S-say-PAST day two 3.S-do-FUT-3PL

nigé-rowo-sa iwáe. #
 1PL.EXC.S-come.down-FUT really

In just two days, they said, 'If two days are gone, we will really come'.

- (21) *A suda + me-téba-re + meqó meqó-wai*
 ah so 3.S-tie-PAST rope rope-this.F

ériqo + baru mé-era-re mái-qe bukai-ra a +
 two next 3.S-say-PAST this-TOP open-IMP ah

gorá-gora-wo me-téba-re³⁴ ewáíwa + mé-era-re nágo ewái níra
 appointment-CONN 3.S-tie-PAST next 3.S-say-PAST one this.F day

nágo ewái níra nigé-rowo-sa. #
 one this.F day 1PL.EXC.S-come.down-FUT

Ah, alright, they tied knots, two knots in the rope and they said, 'Untie these knots', ah, they made an appointment and they said, 'This day we shall come down'.

- (22) *Máge-ra wé-ge-re. #*
 thus-for 3.S-do-PAST
 Thus they did.

- (23) *Jadi bidó-qe iwáa-go me-rágo-re +*
 therefore pig-REL yesterday-CIRC 3.S-pierce-PAST

me-téte-re ewái mugó-reqa-y-aigo. #
 3.S-cut-PAST this.F carry-walk.PL-TR-NEG

Therefore the pig which they had speared and slaughtered the day before, they did not carry it away.

- (24) *Ní-taturi-dere ní-tató-ere aqíro máqare*
 our-grandfather-and our-grandmother-and foreleg hindleg

³⁴ In former times, the Inanwatan made appointments with the help of knotted ropes. each knot symbolising one day.

mogó-we-rawe-re + qeseqó-wo mé-reqa-re. #
 carry-3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST far-LOC 3.S-walk.PL-PAST
 My grandfather and grandmother carried up the foreleg and the hindleg walking far.

- (25) *Qeseqó-wo mé-reqa-re jadi ítigo-wa óti miogágoi*
 far-LOC 3.S-walk.PL-PAST therefore she-this also in.their.turn

ní-tato-wa + mésidara-ga merérego utó-ere
 our-grandmother-this shrimp.species-POSS parcel.PL fish-and

mogó-rawe-ra-e ní-sa-be + baru náge nówo-ra-e +
 carry-go.up.over.land-IMP-PL eat-FUT-3PL and thus come.down-IMP-PL

níra múteri-go nówo-ra-e. #

day one-CIRC come.down-IMP-PL

They walked far and in their turn my grandmother (said), 'You must carry up the parcels of shrimp and the fish so that you can eat and thus come down on the appointed day'.

- (26) *A a suda mé-ri-de + me-téte-re bidó-wai é-ra wé-ge-re*
 ah ah so 3.S-eat-PAST 3.S-cut-PAST pig-this.F 3PL-for 3.S-do-PAST

mé-reqa-wasu mé-rawe-re. #

3.S-walk.PL-these 3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST

Ah, ah, alright, they ate and the slaughtered pig they left behind for them and they went away.

- (27) *Mé-rawe-re ewáíwa + owóíwo írowo mé-ge-re +*
 3.S-go.up.over.land-PAST and there body 3.S-do-PAST

mé-era-re nige-róe-be i-wósu mésidao-wosu
 3.S-say-PAST 1PL.EXC.S-go.out-PRES be-those people-those

uru-rige-rápa-be + naté-bi-wo naté-bi-wo
 together-1PL.EXC-meet-PRES husband-wife-be.3.SG.F husband-wife-be.3.SG.F

i-wósu + ao úto úra me-rí-we-be
 be-those their fish DEM 3.S-1PL.EXC.O-give-PRES

mésidaro úra + nigé-ri-be íwaqe a +
 shrimp.species DEM 1PL.EXC.S-eat-PRES alright ah

pertama nigé-ri-be nigé-iqu-be + kedua
 first 1PL.EXC.eat-PRES 1PL.EXC.S-vomit-PRES second

nigé-ri-be íwaqe sówato-w + a a sówato-wo. #
 1PL.EXC.S-cat-PRES alright good-be.3.SG.F ah ah good-be.3.SG.F

They went up there and showed (the fish) saying, we went down and there we met people, they were husband and wife and they gave us their fish and we ate shrimp, at first we vomited but the second time we ate it, it was good, very good.

- (28) *A óti míogagoi bidó ewái ge-rágo-be-ge*
 ah also in.return pig this.F 1PL.INC.S-pierce-PRES-SUB

+ *mé-ri-be* *mé-iqo-be* + *baru* *awogé* *mé-ri-de*
 3.S-eat-PRES 3.S-vomit-PRES and again 3.S-eat-PAST

íwaqe *í-woi* *e-rádara* *nigé-ge-be* +
 allright be-that.F.SG 3PL-for 1PLEX.S-do-PRES

ní-sa-be + *óti* *míogagoi* *úto* *úra*
 eat-FUT-3PL also in.return fish DEM

me-rí-we-be *ní-ra-e* *míqa-da.* #
 3.S-1PLEX.O-give-PRES eat-IMP-PL ADH-EMPH

Ah, also, in return, the pig which we speared, they ate and vomited, allright we left it for them to eat and also, in return, they gave us this fish, you must try and eat it.

- (29) *Mé-ri-de* *mé-ri-de* + *íwaqe*
 3.S-eat-PAST 3.S-cat-PAST allright

sówato-wo *a* *a* *mai-róe-bido* *mé-rowo-re.* #
 good-be.3.SG.F ah ah now-go.out-1PL.INC.ADH 3.S-come.down-PAST
 They ate, ate, allright, it is good, ah, ah, let us go down and they went down.

- (30) *Mé-rowo-re* *ewáíwa* + *níogai* *mé-era-re*
 3.S-come.down-PAST and each.other 3.S-say-PAST

suda *mé-era-re* *núawu-bido* + *mútero-wai.* #
 so 3.S-say-PAST come.together-1PL.INC.ADH one-this.F
 They came down and they said to each other, 'Let us come together in one place'.

- (31) *Ini baru pulau ini yang bapa pigi ambil tiang*
 this and island this that mister go take supporting.pole

*sama-sama kumpul disitu.*³⁵ #
 together collect there
 This is the island where you went to fetch the pole, there they gathered together.

- (32) *Ya tígo ini dia punya ceritera ini + terimakasih.* #
 yes it this it POSS story this thanks
 Yes, this is its story, thank you.

Part B: Other texts

1. The arrangement of marriages

Mr Murray produced this procedural text in November 1995 as an answer to my question about the way marriages are arranged in the Inanwatan community.

³⁵ In this line, the narrator addresses me in Malay to identify the place where the bush people and the coast people came together. The island he is referring to is a small island in the Siganoi headwater where I went with some people to look for remnants of the settlements mentioned in this text. Indeed, we found there the remnant of a supporting pole that had been worked with a stone axe.

Text

- (1) *Mái-wo-go + qáwere + qáwere aga séro qé-bido. #*
 now-at-CIRC child.PL child.PL POSS word speak-IPL.INC.ADH
 Let us now talk about the matter of the children.
- (2) *Dári qotoqówar-e úwar-esái eráwiraqoto nág-o +*
 our(INC.M) child-M bachelor-this.M virgin.F one-F
úto wé-ri-rita-i³⁶ + dári qíbo-wo baru
 fish 3.S-eat-DUR-PAST.M our(INC.M) back-at and
qáidawo-go nige-párea-rita + qeqúqu-wa. #
 behind-CIRC IPL.EXC.S-know-DUR parent.PL-these
 Our unmarried son has a love relationship with a girl behind our back and afterwards we get to know it, the parents.
- (3) *Máiwa + móteve + séro we-qé-rita-re + órewao-wa*
 next there word 3.S-speak-HAB-and woman.side-these
qówewao-wasu mé-era-rita. #
 man.side-these 3.S-say-HAB
 Next the woman's people say to the man's people.
- (4) *Iri qotoqówar-esái + nírido qotoqówar-o +*
 your(PL) child-M-this.M our(EXC) child-F
úto wé-ri-rita-bi. #
 fish 3.S-eat-HAB-M
 Your son has a relationship with our daughter.
- (5) *Máge-tira-i?*
 thus-take-ADV
 how about that?
- (6) *Máiwa móteve me-qé-rita qówewao-wasu me-rúqawu-rita-re +*
 next then 3.S-speak-HAB man.side-these 3.S-come.together-HAB-and
ábo-go dé-bido + qotoqówar-o oréwo máiwa
 tomorrow-CIRC cross-IPL.INC.ADH child-F woman next
dári qotoqówar-esái úto wé-ri-rita-bi. #
 our(INC.M) child-M-this.M fish 3.S-eat-HAB-M
 Next the man's people say, 'Let us have a meeting tomorrow over there since the woman and our son have a relationship'.
- (7) *Máiwa míogagoi súrurato wé-we-rita-i*
 next in.return letter 3.S-give-HAB-PAST.M
qówewao-wa + qeqúqu órewao-rarae + me-qé-rita³⁷ étiride mé-te-rita +
 man.side-these parent.PL woman.side-for(?) 3.S-speak-HAB wait(?) 3.S-sit-HAB

³⁶ As in many Papuan societies, giving food by a woman to an unrelated male is associated with a sexual relationship between them. In the Inanwatan language, the association is so strong, that the conventional term for having a love relationship is 'to eat fish with'.

ídawuqai mé-rego-rita. #

clock 3.S-put.down-HAB

Next the man's side sends a letter to the parents on the woman's side and they read it and they wait until the appointed time has come.

- (8) *Ewao + máiwa + éwao-wai mái-wo-tewe + ídawuqai arégoi*
late.afternoon next afternoon-this.F here-at-from clock same
+ máiwa mái-qede + mé-de-rita mai me-rebái-rita. #
next this-TOP 3.S-cross-HAB this.F 3.S-ascend-HAB

In the late afternoon, they go across and enter on the appointed time.

- (9) *Mai rebái-birowu + aréqara-gai +*
this.F ascend-in.order.to.PL door-price

méida-gai³⁸ + máge mogó-wé-de-rita. #
table-price thus carry -3.S-cross-HAB

In order to enter, they carry across the price of the door and of the table.

- (10) *Kalau méida-gai-ere areqára-gai-ere qeqído méwo*
if table-price-and door-price-and not hand.PL

si-si + a ítigo + mó-tewe wé-qe-rita # séro-wo. #
empty-empty ah so there-from 3.S-speak-HAB word-CONN

After the price of the table and the price of the door, if they did not come with empty hands, ah, alright, then the negotiation of the arrangement starts.

- (11) *Séro-wai mé-qe-rita mó-tewe + jadi*
word-this.F 3.S-speak-HAB there-from therefore

mái-wo-tewe mé-de-rita
here-at-from 3.S-cross-HAB

qówewao níri qotoqówar-e-sai úto wé-ri-rita-i +
man.side our child-M-this.M fish 3.S-eat-HAB-PAST.M

séro ura ge-tóbo-be. #
word DEM 1PL.INC.S-listen-PRES

The negotiations start, the man's party go across, (saying), we heard that our son has a relationship.

- (12) *Mí-ri-ra-rita + míroqai-weebe + nige-tóbo-be tígo*
3.S-1PLEXC.O-say-HAB true-be (?) 1PLEXC.S-listen-PRES so

qotoqówar-o órewo-wai séro mútero. #
child-F woman-this.F word one

They say to us, it is true, we have heard the same thing about the woman.

³⁷ The verb *qe-* 'to speak' means 'to read' in the context of written communication. Reading is done aloud.

³⁸ 'The price of the door and of the table': a customary initial 'entrance' payment by the man's party without which the woman's party refuses to discuss marriage arrangements. The door refers to the entrance and the table to the reception of the man's party as guests. The informant told me that the price of the door and the table can be as high as Rph. 250.000.

- (13) *A máiwa suda + mé-irere-rita + me-qebáte-rita máiwa +*
 ah next so 3.S-withdraw-HAB 3.S-return-HAB next
meqáro-wo-tewe mé-i-rita mé-de-wo-re. #
 house-CONN-from 3.S-descend-HAB 3.S-cross-come-PAST
 Ah, next, alright, they (=man's party) withdraw and return, they leave the house
 and come across.
- (14) *Qówewao-wasu qówewao me-rúqawu-rita-re*
 man.side-these man.side 3.S-come.together-HAB-PAST
mótewe me-qé-rita + a íwaqe + qotoqówar-o
 there 3.S-speak-HAB ah so child-F
órewo-qe níqai-wé-wore-be qeqúqu-wasu + ábo-go
 woman-TOP follow-3.S-agree-PRES parent.PL-these tomorrow-CIRC
qoqó-bido + núawu-ego-bido áreto. #
 put-1PL.INC.ADH collect-cause-1PL.INC.ADH thing
 The man's people hold a meeting and there the parents agree about the daughter
 and (say), 'Let us tomorrow collect the (bridal) payment'.
- (15) *Máiwa + étiride qeqúqu órewao-wa + a suda me-búqa-rita*
 next wait(?) parent.PL. woman.side-these ah so 3.S-write-HAB
áreto ewái + éite-ra pigéro + sidáuqo +
 thing this.F how.many-for ceramic.jar kain.blok³⁹
níwariwaro + gárasaqoro + sído-qugoi-werawu nóto +
 plate glass cloth-pieces-? cloth.sarong
máiwa gái-wa mé-rego-rita sidáuqo néwo-wa-sugeri + pípiiso-wai
 next price-this 3.S-put.down-HAB kain.blok hand-this-both money-this.F
dua ratus wé-rego-rita + dua ratus ribu +
 two hundred 3.S-put.down-HAB two hundred thousand
atau satu juta mé-rego-rita surato + máge
 or one million 3.S-put.down-HAB letter thus
mái me-qé-rita qówewao-wa móteqe qéro-we-igo-rita. #
 this.F 3.S-speak-HAB man.side-these then ear-3.S-think-HAB
 Next the parents (of the man) wait until the woman's party, eh, alright, until they
 write how many things, jars, kain blok, plates, glasses, pieces of cloth and sarong
 cloth (they demand) and they (=woman's people) set the price, 10 kain blok, in
 money two hundred thousand or one million, thus they write in their letter and then
 the man's side considers (this price).
- (16) *Mótewe qéro-igo-ere + mé-era-rita ítigo gáago*
 then ear-think-and 3.S-say-HAB so side

³⁹ The local Malay phrase *kain blok* refers to folded 'blocks' of 40 metre of *kain cita* cloth which are sold in the shops of the local Bugis traders. The price of one 'block' was around Rph. 60.000 in 1995. The word *blok* is a loan from Dutch.

me-bidó + *é-ra mé-rego-be satu juta-ra* +
give-1PL.INC.ADH 3PL-for 3.S-put.down-PRES one million-for

níwa-ratusi me-bidó kain blok i-wái dua puluh + sepuluh
five-hundred give-1PL.INC.ADH cloth blok be-this.F.SG two ten ten

wé-bido nedúru + níwariwaro duapuluh lusin +
give-1PL.INC.ADH beforehand plate twenty dozen

sepuluh lusin mé-bido nedúru + mágerere
ten dozen give-1PL.INC.ADH beforehand thus

néwo we-qé-rita . #
hand 3.S-speak-HAB

Then they consider (the price) and they say, alright, let us give them the half (of their demand), they demand one million, let us give five hundred, their demand for *kain blok* is twenty, let us give them ten first, 20 plates, let us give them 10 first, thus they count.

- (17) *Me-rápago-rita-re ewáíwa + a acara kedua*
3.S-distribute-HAB-PAST and ah ceremony second

me-bírowu súrurato mé-we-rita + atau mísidao
give-for.PL letter 3.S-give-HAB or people

me-bái-rita + séro-go + mé-era-rita mé-de-wo-rita
3.S-send-HAB word-CIRC 3.S-say-HAB 3.S-cross-come-HAB

ídawuqai-ra + ewáo-go mogó-rige-de-wo-sa. #
clock-for late.afternoon-CIRC carry-1PL.EXC-cross-come-FUT

When they (=man's people) have paid (the bridal payment), eh, the second ceremony, in order to give, they (=man's people) send a letter or send people with the word that they will come in the late afternoon to bring across (the bride).

- (18) *Máiwa mé-te-rita-wasu órewao ewasu áreto*
next 3.S-sit.PL-HAB-these woman.side these thing

me-wáa-rita + kúkiso wé-qi-rita + baru
3.S-cook-HAB cookies 3.S-cook-HAB and

ewáo-go qówewao-wa áreto-wai + mogó-we-dé-rita. #
late.afternoon-CIRC man.side-these thing-this.F carry-3.S-cross-HAB

Next they wait and the woman's people cook food and bake cookies and in the late afternoon the man's people carry across the (bridal) payment.

- (19) *Mogó-de-ere + órewao-wa-ga méqaro mogó-we-rebá-rita +*
carry-cross-and woman.side-these-POSS house carry-3.S-go.up-HAB

baru mótewe me-wé-rita + séro ewái + méida-gai mai méida-wai
and then 3.S-give-HAB word this.F. table-price this.F table-this.F

suda apaio-w-é-rita + biasa mé-rego-rita dua ratus limapuluh +
so pay-3.S-do-HAB usually 3.S-put.down-HAB two hundred fifty

kalau dua ratus niwapuluh pípiso qeqído + sidáoqo. #
 if two hundred fifty money not *kain.blok*

They carry (it) across and carry it up into the house of the woman's party and they say, this is the price of the table, they usually pay two hundred and fifty, if they do not have two hundred fifty, (they pay in) *kain blok*.

- (20) *Sidáoqo-go apaio-w-é-rita aréqaro méida ura rágo. #*
kain.blok-CIRC pay-3.S-do-HAB door table DEM one.time
 With *kain blok* they pay for the door and the table in one time.

- (21) *Máge ewáíwa + tetéwo atírai apaio-w-é-rita me-sé-rita. #*
 thus and all in.one.time(?) pay-3.S-do-HAB 3.S-go-HAB
 Thus they pay all in one time and they go away.

- (22) *Eri-aga mówa-gai⁴⁰ + kain putih⁴¹ satu blok mai éri*
 mother-POSS back-price cloth white one *blok* this.F mother

ao + a tetéwoqa suda núawu-qego-tira-i
 her ah all so come.together-CAUS-take-ADV

áreto mé-ra-rita + baru órewo-wai uru-wé-i-rita-re +
 thing 3.S-do-HAB and woman-this.F together-3.S-descend-HAB-and

qówewao-wa-ga méqaro-wai urú-we-rebái-rita. #
 man.side-these-POSS house-this.F together-3.S-go.up-HAB

The price of mother's back is one roll of white cloth, when they have collected all the things, they bring down the woman and bring her up into the house of the man's people.

- (23) *A qówewao-ga méqaro-wo qáwo-beqewu⁴² +*
 ah man.side-POSS house-in place.foot.on-to(SG)

áwoqe múri-wurido ewái tígo me-rápago-rita-re órewé
 again gift-gifts this.F so 3.S-distribute-HAB-and women

qai-te-wesaru tetéwo me-rápago-rita-re + órewao
 follow-sit.PL all 3.S-distribute-HAB-and woman.side

ewásu + mé-we-rita me-rápago-rita-re tetéwo ísido +
 these 3.S-give-HAB 3.S-distribute-HAB-and all empty

⁴⁰ This payment is to compensate the mother of the bride for her suffering (pain in the back) when the bride was born. The price of one roll of white cloth is about Rph. 60.000.

⁴¹ When the mother of the bride is old, the white cloth is saved for the day of her death: then her body will be wrapped into the cloth; when she is younger, it is also used to pay the 'payment of the back' of the mother-in-law of her son.

⁴² This expression refers to the custom that the bride puts one foot on the stairs of the house of the man and keeps that foot there until all the *muriwurido* gifts have been given. These *muriwurido* gifts (pieces of cloth, machetes, lances and other things) do not fall under the bridal payment proper which was agreed upon in writing but are gifts for the women who follow the bride when she goes over to the man's house. These followers must be comforted for the 'loss' of their female relative who leaves them to go to live with her husband. Also, when someone in the woman's party is not content with the part of the bridal payment which he received, the *muriwurido* gifts are used to try to satisfy him before the bride enters the house of the man's party. It is generally believed that when someone in the woman's party is not content, he may use magic to prevent the marriage to result in births.

*dóqe de-rá-e mé-de-rita.*⁴³ #
oh cross-IMP-PL 3.S-cross-HAB

In order to bring her up into the man's people's house, they distribute again gifts, they distribute gifts to all those of the woman's side who followed (the bride) and when they have given all there is to give, oh, go across! and they go across.

- (24) *Tígo-wo séra-guro.* #
that-be.3SG.F word-tree
That's the end of my story.

2. The beach conversation

This text is the transcription of the first part of a spontaneous conversation between Yunus Mitogai, around 35 years old, and Domingus Murray, 67 years old. The conversation was recorded when we were on the beach of the Arafura sea eating the fish just caught. Afterwards the men gave permission to use the recording for linguistic purposes.

Text

- (1) Murray:
I-wái-qa nawórau-woide? Ewo-go?
be-this.F.SG-TOP where-from when-CIRC
Where did you recently return from? When?
- (2) Yunus:
A nigé-ta-re + tigó. #
ah 1PLEXC-PL-go-PAST so
We went alright.
- (3) Murray:
Ewo-go gé-ta-re?
when-CIRC 2PL-go-PAST
When did you go?
- (4) Yunus:
Masut + Mateia-wasu hari Rabu m-éta-re +
goal Matius-they day Wednesday 3.SG-go-PAST
agó-rari hari Kamis qái-ré-ta-re + máiwa parapón
and-I day Thursday follow-1SG-go-PAST and ceiling
sibidara-wéqaro é-ra ne-qéro-re + i-wói
worship-house 3PL-for 1SG-saw-PAST be-that.F.SG
fluri we-gé-i-d-owoi ao i-owoi + baru sekarang
floor 3.S-do-PAST.M-TR-that.F room ATTR-that.F and now
Sia-ere palapon mungkin mo wé-tira-re + Yáqo-ere. #
Yosias-and ceiling possibly there 3PL-make-PAST Yakub-and

⁴³ 'Go across' refers here to crossing the threshold of the man's house.

I mean, Matius and others they went on Wednesday, but I followed on Thursday and I did the sawing for the church building, there is a floor already and a room and now Yosias is possibly making the ceiling with Yakub.

(5) Murray:

O

oh

(6) Yunus:

I-wósu + mungkin mái-wo-go mo popo-sa-be + palapon itu + terus
be-those possibly now-at-CIRC there nail-FUT-3.S ceiling that next

síbidaro-go érero yang bocor itu + mungkin buka-wé-sa-be. #
church-CIRC roof that leaking that possibly open-3.S-FUT-3.S
Possibly they are now nailing the ceiling and removing the roof of the church which is leaking.

(7) Murray:

Erero-to?

roof-true

Is it a thatched roof?

(8) Yunus:

Iyo bukan + sengki-wo i-wói qíqo-wo-y-are
yes no corrugated.iron-be.3.SG.F be-that.F.SG new-be.3.SG.F-TR-again

mo popó-sa-be + jadi Benoni-d-osoi + hari Jumat itu
there nail-FUT-3PL.S therefore Benoni-TR-that.M.SG day Friday that

iwáiqá dia turun + mé-ta-i. #
recently he descend 3.S-go-PAST.M

Yes, no, corrugated iron, there is new (corrugated iron) again which they will nail, therefore Benoni he went down on Friday.

(9) Murray:

Soru-wai?

Sorong-to

To Sorong?

(10) Yunus:

Qeqído-wo + Isogó-wai + dia kepala panitia
not-be.3.SG.F Isogo-to he head committee

No, to Isogo, he is chairman of the committee.

(11) Murray:

Gedung gereja?

building church

The church building (committee)?

(12) Yunus:

Síbidaro méqaro!
church house
The church building!

(13) Murray:

Ewo-go tabiskan?
when-CIRC dedicate
When will it be dedicated?

(14) Yunus:

Qidúara + iyo + tétewo daro mésidao
not.yet yes all our(IN) people
óbau ewasu o Bapak + gerédidao ewái + qidúara . #
beach these oh Mister work this.F.SG not.yet
Not yet, all our people (and) those from the beach, oh Sir, this work is not yet finished.

(15) Murray:

Are-aretere-wo + yang selain?
what-what-be.3.SG.F which other
And what about the other (work)?

(16) Yunus:

Kunsistori
consistory
The consistory.

(17) Murray:

Agó síbidaro méqaro?
but church house
But the church building?

(18) Yunus:

A suda + ya kunsistori + terus plafon +
ah already yes consistory next ceiling
terus mimbari móteqogeritau panggung + owói-qi-are. #
next pulpit pulpit pulpit that.F.SG-TOP-again
Ah, finished yes, the consistory and the ceiling and the pulpit also.

(19) Murray:

Agu-áwoqe qái-de-ta-sa?
and-again follow-cross-go-FUT
And you want to go there again?

(20) Yunus:

Iyó rencana begitu tapi + ísido-wo nárido gerédidao ewái +
yes plan thus but empty-be.3.SG.F my work this.F
hanya karena bu dia sendiri disana
just because older.brother he himself there

mungkin kekurangan- kekurangan owóíwoqe é-ra ne-qéro-sa. #
 possibly shortage- shortage there 3SG-for 1SG.S-saw-FUT

Yes, that is the plan but my work must be finished, just because my older brother he is there on his own and maybe there are shortages, I am going to saw there for him.

(21) Murray:

Ebaro-wo?

close-be.3.SG.F

In the vicinity?

(22) Yunus:

Ebaro-wo!

close-be.3.SG.F

In the vicinity!

(23) Murray:

I-woi ao?

be-that.F wood

Is there wood?

(24) Yunus:

A naqirau ewái Bapak! + ma kuburan gáago +
 ah Gerupa.tree this.F Mister PAUSE graveyard side

tétewo éposiwai-weebe + tiga orang empat orang fólo⁴⁴ + iya. #
 all straight-be (?) three person four person embrace yes

(25) Yunus:

Né-ta-re-re tiga hari é-ra re-qo-re +
 1SG-go-PAST-SEQ three day 3SG-for 1SG.S-saw-PAST

dua ratus enampuluh dua panggal +
 two hundred sixty twopiece

é-ra isido né-ge-re. #

3SG-for empty 1SG-do-PAST

There is Gerup wood, Mister, eh, besides the graveyard, all straight and three, four persons' embrace big; yes, I went there and in three days I sawed for him two hundred and sixty two pieces that I sawed completely.

(26) Murray:

Nó-go-rita madéi isido-wo. #

1SG-think-DUR already empty-be.3.SG.F

I thought it was already finished.

(27) Yunus:

Qidú-ara + tetéwo ai-éwasu máwago-wo. #

not-yet all skull-these big-be.3.SG.F

Not yet, they are all fools.

⁴⁴ *fólo* 'embrace' from Malay *peluk*; the expression is used to indicate how big the Gerupa trees are, two or three men are needed to 'embrace' the tree.

(28) Murray:

Ei tetóira?
you(PL) how.many
How many are you anyway?

(29) Yunus:

Iyo né-ra-re-ya! + irei tetóira-ire?
yes 1SG-say-PAST=yes you.PL how.many-you.PL

kitong bisa hitong kamu dengan jari +
we.IN can count you with finger

jadi jangan kamu main-main +
therefore do.not you(PL.) play-play

sibidara-méqaro ewái. #
worship-house this.F

Yes, what I said, how many are you? We can count you on our fingers,
therefore do not play with this church building.

3. The career of Mr Murray

On 19 September 1995, Dominggus Murray told me about his career. The result is the following first person narrative.

Text

- (1) *Séro né-qe-sa + nárido + nirá niro-go síwae-werawo +*
word 1SG-speak-FUT my day day-CIRC give.birth-NOM.F
nari na-rér-i + Dominggus Murray + mái-wo niro
I my-name-M Dominggus Murray now-at day
me-síwa-re + nira-wai duabelas Desember táu-go-wai
3.S-give.birth-PAST day-this.F twelve December year-CIRC-this.F

sembilanbelasduapuluhdelapan # Irorówataro-wo. #
1928 Inanwatan-in

I will tell you, the day of, the day I was born, my name is Dominggus Murray,
now I was born on 12 December 1928, in Inanwatan.

- (2) *Ná-qide-sai + nér-i-sai + Síriqare. #*
my-father-this.M. name-M-this.M Síriqare
My father's name was Síriqare.

- (3) *Sáa-we-ra-re + Simson Murray. #*
water-3.S-do-PAST Simson Murray
He was baptised Simson Murray.

- (4) *N-éqido-wai + Ewerido. #*
1SG-mother-this.F Ewerido
My mother's name was Ewerido.

- (5) *Sáa wé-ra-re + Elisabet Warigi. #*
 water 3.S-do-PAST Elisabet Warigi
 She was baptised Elisabet Warigi.
- (6) *Máiwa + náwe síkora me-qegó-re + nira-wai*
 next me school 3.S-cause-PAST day-this.F
múteri April táu-go-wai
 one April year-CIRC-this.F
seribusembilanbelastigapuluhtujuh síkora né-qe-re. #
 1937 school 1SG-do-PAST
 Now they put me to school on 1 April in the year 1937.
- (7) *Síkora + sekolah rendah síkora kampung. #*
 school school elementary school village
 The school was the elementary school, the village school.
- (8) *Máiwa + táu-go-wai + seribusembilanbelasempatpuluhdua*
 next year-CIRC-this.F 1942
mulai píca-wé-ge-re + mí-ado-re +
 begin burst-3.S-do-PAST 3.S-make.war-PAST
Báradaro-ere Sidepao-ere. #
 Netherlands-and Japan-and
 But in the year 1942 the war between the Dutch and the Japanese broke out
- (9) *Máiwa + ní-deqúquwa + ná-qide-ere n-éqido-ere*
 next our-parents my-father-and my-mother-and
mógo-wai + Besaró-gobó-ere⁴⁵ Apaguro-ere. #
 jungle-this.F Besam-river-and Apaguro-and
 And my parents, my father and mother (stayed) in the jungle, on the Apaguro territory at the Besam river.
- (10) *Máiwa owówo-qe + atá-ata + síkora-wai búka-wé-ge-re*
 next there-TOP stay-stay school-this.F + open-3.S-do-PAST
sementara-go Mugúro-wo⁴⁶ + máiwa-rári síkora-wo ré-qe-re +
 temporary-CIRC Mugúro-in next-I school-in 1SG-do-PAST
Mugúro-wo + gurú-i-sai + Elias + Watimena + qeqído
 Mugúro-in teacher-M-this.M Elias Watimena not
gíre-y-áigo + áwoqe pinda-ré-ge-re síkora-wai + Qódeqari-wai. #
 long-TR-not again move-1SG-do-PAST school-this.F Odeqari-to
 And those staying there opened a temporary school and I followed that school in Mugur, the teacher in Mugur was Elias Watimena, but after a short time I moved again to the school in Odeqari.

⁴⁵ The Besam is a small stream watering into the Siganoi headwater. Apaguro and Besam are two adjacent *gobó* territories (see Map 6 in van Oosterhout 2002:173).

⁴⁶ Mugur is a small stream watering into the Siganoi headwater.

- (11) *Máiwa gúru-i + Martin Marlisa owóiwó-ge + né-ge-re*
 next teacher-M Martin Marlisa there-TOP 1SG-do-PAST
síkorao-wai iko-ré-ge-re + qeqído + gíre-y-áiwo
 school-this.F follow-1SG-do-PAST not long-TR-not
awogé + né-rowo-re Irorowatáro-wai-eré Sídepao-aga
 again 1SG-come.down-PAST Inanwatan-this.F-and Japan-POSS
áibo-go né-ge-re Irorowatáro-wo né-ge-re
 voice-CIRC 1SG-read-PAST Inanwatan-in 1SG-read-PAST
gúru-i-sai+ Sídepao-y-aga gúru-i nerí-sai +
 teacher-M-this.M.SG Japan-TR-POSS teacher-M name-this.M
Nakamura agó náqide ná-qawe-wérawe-sai + dókter-so
 Nakamura and my.father my-care-NOM.M-this.M doctor-be.3.SG.M
nerí-sai Nismoto + Sídepao-aga mésida-e. #
 name-this.M Nismoto Japan-POSS man-M
 And the teacher there was Martin Marlisa and I went to school but after a short time I went down again to Inanwatan and I followed the school in the Japanese language in Inanwatan, the teacher was a Japanese teacher named Nakamura and my adoptive father was a doctor named Nismoto, a Japanese man.
- (12) *Máiwa síkorao qai-qai + táu-go-wai + sembilanbelasempatpuluhenam +*
 next school follow-follow year-this.F 1946
Báradaro aga Amerika-ere mó-useqe-re + máíwa
 Netherlands and America-and 3.S-many-PAST next
áwe-qego-i ni-gé-ge-re ewáíwa + né-wiwi-de áwoqe. #
 leave-CAUS-ADV 1PL.S-PL-do-PAST next 1SG-run-PAST again
 And I followed the school until the year 1946 when the Dutch and the Americans were victorious and we left (the Japanese) and we ran again.
- (13) *Awoge né-qebadi-de ewáíwa áwoqe síkorao ré-ge-re +*
 again 1SG-return-PAST and again school 1SG-do-PAST
máiwa táu-go-wai + sembilanbelasempatpuluhtujuh +
 next year-this.F 1947
baru + táamati-ré-ge-re síkorao rendah. #
 and graduate-1SG-do-PAST school elementary
 I returned again and followed school again and I graduated from the elementary school in 1947.
- (14) *Awoge + nó-oidide-wiwi-re + táu-go-wai seribusembilanratuslimapuluh +*
 again 1SG.S-go.out-run-PAST year-this.F 1950
áwoqe kasi-másu- ré-ge-re ná-reri-sai + síkorao
 again give-enter-1SG-do-PAST my-name-this.M.SG school
qé-beqewu SPK + iwaqé sáragau ré-ge-re lulusi-ré-ge-re
 do-to(SG) SPK allright result 1SG-do-PAST pass.exam-1SG-do-PAST

máiwa sīkorao ré-ge-re mantri verpleger. #
 next school ISG-do-PAST health.worker health.worker
 Again I ran away and in 1950 I registered my name to follow the SPK school,
 alright I passed the final exam and I went to the school for health worker.

- (15) *Máiwa íro-wutero-go né-ge-re + táu-go*
 next body-one-CIRC ISG-do-PAST year-CIRC
sembilanbelaslimapuluh-woide + táu-go níwapulu-wo
 1950-from year-CIRC fifty-in
né-ge-re ewáiwa + táamati-ré-ge-re
 ISG-do-PAST and graduate-ISG-do-PAST
táu-go seribusembilanratusniwapuluniwa-go + diploma
 year 1955-CIRC certificate
dan + mái-wo-ge kerédidau-ré-ge-re +
 and this-in-TOP work-ISG-do-PAST
méqaro + óte-rita-saru-aga méqaro Irarowataro-wo +
 house be.ill-HAB-NOM.PL-POSS house Inanwatan-in
táu-go-wai niwapulu-gara-wo awogé +
 year-this.F fifty-six(?)-in again
sīkorao-ré-ge-re awogé + laboratorium. #
 school-ISG-do-PAST again laboratory
 And I followed school continuously from 1950 until I graduated in 1955 and
 here in Inanwatan I worked in the hospital and in '56 I went again to school,
 the lab school.
- (16) *Máiwa + niwapulu-sebila-wai + pinda-ré-ge-re +*
 next fifty-nine-this.F move-ISG-do-PAST
póoligi Kákubaridao⁴⁷ owóiwó-ge + máiwa táu-go
 clinic Kampong.Baru there-TOP next year-CIRC
seribusembilanratusgarapuluhdua-go + awóge pinda-ré-ge-re +
 1962-CIRC again move-ISG-do-PAST
Irarowataro-wai mé-i-de + PGT-wáigo⁴⁸
 Inanwatan-from 3.S-descend-PAST PGT-because
níro-go ná-wai mó-owo-re
 night-CIRC ISG.O-to 3.S-go.upriver-PAST
né-rowo-re Irarówatáro-wai. #
 I SG-come.down-PAST Inanwatan-to
 In '59 I moved to the clinic in Kampong Baru and from there I moved again in
 1962 because they had descended from Inanwatan and moved upriver to me in
 the night because of the PGT and I came down to Inanwatan.

⁴⁷ Kampong Baru is a village on the Kais river, see Maps.

⁴⁸ PGT refers to Malay military infiltration units.

- (17) *Mái-wo kerédidau e + tahun tujupuluh e +*
 now-at work ch year 70 eh
enampuluhsembilan náwe angka-wé-ge-re + dengan
 1969 me.O appoint-3.S-do-PAST with
SK⁴⁹ keputusan menjadi kepala urusan laboratorium +
 SK decision become head regulation laboratory
PusKesMas Inanwatan. #
 health.centre Inanwatan
 Now in the year 1969 they appointed me officially to become the head of the laboratory of the Inanwatan health centre.
- (18) *Máiwa kerédidau ré-ge-re + táu-go tujupuluh-go + náwe*
 next work ISG.S-do-PAST year-CIRC 70 me.O
angka-wé-ge-re áwoge + kepala Desa-go +
 appoint-3.S-do-PAST again head Desa-CIRC
sampai táu-go seribusembilanratustujupuluhdua +
 until year-CIRC 1972
áwoge na-rérowo mé-re-re + né-i-de +
 again my-body 3.S-call-PAST ISG.S-descend-PAST
kepal a Kampong e + Desa berhenti dulu ré-ge-re +
 head village eh Desa stop first ISG.S-do-PAST
síkorao ré-ge-re áwoge + né-ta-re prakteki-ré-ge-re
 school ISG.S-do-PAST again ISG.S-go-PAST practice-ISG.S-do-PAST
Soru laboratorium Rumah Sakit Umum Sorong. #
 Sorong laboratory Hospital General Sorong
 And I worked and in 1970 they appointed me head of the village until I received a call again in 1972 and I stepped down from the office of head of village in order to go to school again and to practise in the laboratory of the General Hospital in Sorong.
- (19) *Awoge né-wo-re + seribusembilanratustujupuluhempat +*
 again ISG-come-PAST 1974
né-gebadi-de awóge + Irórowataro-wo ruma sáaki
 ISG.S-return-PAST again Inanwatan-in house ill
mái-wo keredidau ré-ge-re. #
 here-at work ISG.S-do-PAST
 I came back in 1974 and worked again in the hospital here in Inanwatan.
- (20) *Máiwa + laboratorium keredidau ré-ge-re ewáíwa +*
 and laboratory work ISG.S-do-PAST and

⁴⁹ SK is an abbreviation of *surat keputusan* literally 'letter of decision'.

tígo mo-qe pensio- ré-ge-re + órmati-go
so then-TOP retirement-1SG-do-PAST honour-with

me-régo-re + táu-go-wai + seribusembilanratusdelapanpuluhempat. #
3.S-put-PAST year-this.F 1984

Next I worked in the lab until I retired with honour in 1984.

- (21) *Máiwa + níga wé-we-re áwoqe +*
next to.us 3.S-give-PAST again

qárowo-wai ne-wígí-wo níga túro-birowu + táu-go
star-this.F my-breast.M-at to.us hang-in.order.to.PL year-CIRC

seribusembilanratusdelapanpuluhlima + tanggal duabelas Desember
1985 date 12 0 December

pemerintah Indonesia móo-tewe qéro-we-igo-rita nárido kerédidau
government Indonesia that-from ear-3.S-think-DUR my work

jasa baik. #
service good

And they gave me a medal to hang on my breast because on December 12, 1985 the Indonesian government had judged my service good.

- (22) *Móo-tewe qéro-we-igo-re-re + ne-wígí-dawo*
from-that ear-3.S-think-PAST-and my-breast.M-POSS

me-rá-wi-de + medalye + mútero + ere
3.S-1SG.O-give-PAST medal one and

méida-ra naguare. #
table-for one

They judged and gave me one medal for my breast and one to stand on the table.

- (23) *Awoge méqaro náguare áwoqe dínasi-dawo nágo-wo*
again house one again service-POSS one-CONN

me-rá-wi-de buat nanti páakai-béqewu mó ré-re-sa. #
3.S-1SG.O-give-PAST for later use-in.order.to(PL) there 1SG-sleep-FUT

And they gave me also a house of the (health) service to live there in the future.

- (24) *Máiwa terus áwoqe + sekarang náwe angka-wé-ge-re +*
and next again now me.O appoint-3.S-do-PAST

áwoqe jadi tokoh masyarakat Desa Wadoi +
again become leader community Desa Wadoi

tígo sampai mo nó-uwu-ge. #
so until thus 1SG.S-sit-PAST

And they appointed me to become community leader of the Desa Wadoi which I still am.

- (25) *Iwái-qa táu-go sembilanbelassembilanpuluhempat +*
now-TOP year-CIRC 1994

áwoqe + *tígare* + *Baradare* Lourens de Vries + *moqó-wai* *ériwo-naguáre*
again Mr Dutch.M Lourens de Vries moon-this.F two-one

uru *kerédidau* *ré-ge-re.* #
together work 1SG-do-PAST

And in 1994 I worked together with the Dutchman Lourens de Vries during three months.

- (26) *Mé-ta-i* *áwoqe* *mé-wo-i* + *i-sai*
3.S-go-PAST.M again 3.S-come-PAST.M be-this.SG.M

mái-wo-qe + *áwoqe* *ru* *kerédidau* *n-é-rita* *duaberas*
now-at-TOP again together.with work 1SG-do-HAB 12

duabelas + *Desember* + *táu-go* *sembilanbelassembilanpuluhlima* +
12 December year-CIRC 1994

iwái-qa + *tígo* *i-sai* *mái-wo-qe.* #
now-TOP so be-this.M.SG now-at-TOP

He went away and returned and he is here now and I work again with him this day, December 12th.

Part C: Text in local Malay of Inanwatan

The following fragment exemplifies the type of regional Malay spoken in Inanwatan, recorded and transcribed by the anthropologist Dianne van Oosterhout. The narrator is Bapak Magawe of the Solowat clan, around 70 years old. Told on January 7, 1996, it is a part of the story of the catching of the moon.

- (1) *Kalau menurut kita- dorang + waktu itu ada pulau-pulau.* #
if according we-people (INC) time that be island-island
According to our people, there were islands at that time.
- (2) *Jadi kami punya nenek itu dia pi timbang udang +*
so we(EXC) POSS grandmother that she go scoop shrimp
udang alus ini. #
shrimp delicate this
So our grandmother went to scoop out little shrimps.
- (3) *Dia timbang itu + dia bawa naik di kali itu.* #
she scoop that she bring go.up at river that
She scooped them out and brought them up river.
- (4) *Timbang-timbang + di kepala air dia naik + terus + dia lihat cahaya.* #
scoop-scoop at head water she go.up next she see radiance
She scooped and she went to the headwater of the river and she saw radiance.
- (5) *Eh + ini cahaya apa ini + di kayu itu besar +*
Uh this radiance what this at tree that big

kayu Kira-kira + di a punya lobang disitu + lobang besar.

tree Kirakira it POSS hole there hole big

Uh, what is this radiance, at that big tree, a Kirakira tree, with a big hole there in it.

- (6) *Dia + pigi + terang + terus ini dia kaget. #*

she go light and this she startled

She went, there was a light and because of this she was startled.

- (7) *Dia kembali panggil tete dorang disana*

she return call grandfather people there

eh kamu mari ikut. #

uh you come follow

She returned and called grandfather and the others there, uh, come and follow me.

- (8) *Ada apa yang di dalam lobang kayu itu + kita dong pigi.*

be what that in inside hole tree that we(INC) people go

What is it that's inside that hole in the tree? Let us go.

Appendix 3: Survey data of the languages of the Inanwatan district

This appendix presents survey data concerning the languages of the Inanwatan district. Since the Austronesian language Patipi, spoken in the Bomberai peninsula, has had a major role as contact-language in the Inanwatan district until Malay took over that role in the beginning of this century, I will also present Patipi data.

I found 8% lexical correspondence between Yahadian and Inanwatan (16 corresponding items in a list of 202 words) whereas I found 25% lexical correspondence between Inanwatan and Puragi (52 corresponding words in 199 items). Furthermore, Inanwatan shows many correspondences with Puragi in phonology and morphology whereas the Yahadian phonology and morphology are strikingly different from Inanwatan and Puragi. Since lexical correspondence percentages tend to turn out much higher in later research than revealed by initial surveys, the results of my survey shed doubt on a separate status of the Inanwatan family (Voorhoeve 1975; Berry & Berry 1987). Of course, further research is needed to establish Inanwatan as a member of the South-Bird's Head family. I used the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Irian Jaya) 209 item survey list to collect lexical data.

Besides Inanwatan the following five languages are spoken in the Inanwatan district (*kecamatan*):

1. **Kokoda** (South Bird's Head family), approx. 6000 speakers, villages: Migori, Kesueri, Tarof, Negeri Besar, Tambani, Udagaga.
2. **Puragi** (South Bird's Head family), 1400 speakers, villages: Puragi, Saga, Isogo, Bedare.
3. **Benawa** (South Bird's Head family), 800 (?), villages: Benawa I+II, Sumano, Atori.
4. **Kais** (South Bird's Head family), 600 speakers, village: Kampong Baru on Kais river.
5. **Yahadian** (Konda-Yahadian family), 1150 speakers, villages: Mugim, Yahadian.

In this appendix I present data on Kokoda, Puragi, Yahadian and Benawa. Unfortunately, I have no data on Kais. See Map 2, Languages of the Bird's Head, for the location of Inanwatan and its neighbouring languages.

1 The Kokoda language

The date of the survey was 18 September 1995. The informants were Paulus Nagóra, born in Kasueri in 1959, *Sekolah Dasar* (elementary school) in Kasueri, SMP (Junior High School) in Fak-Fak; Dance Káo, born in Kasueri in 1968, *Sekolah Dasar* in Kasueri. Tomas Kerámu, born 1965 in Kasueri, with *Sekolah Dasar* education, Matius Nagóra, born 1954 in Kasueri, *Sekolah Dasar*. All informants spent most of their lives in Kasueri and speak the language daily and fluently. They gave information on their language in Inanwatan, the main village of the district which has a small Kokoda section. I worked for four hours with these men who were on their way to Sorong.

Kokoda is the name which is used throughout the Inanwatan district for the language spoken in the villages Kasueri (about 1000 speakers), Migori (500 speakers), Siwatori (500), Tarof (250), Negeri Besar (2000), Tambani (250), Udagaga (1000) and Nebes (number of speakers unknown). There seem to be two dialects: the Kasueri dialect (Kasueri, Migori, Siwatori) and the Nebes dialect (Tarof, Negeri Besar, Tambani, Udagaga, Nebes).

The Kokoda language is much more alive than the Inanwatan language. Whereas Indonesian is often used by the Inanwatan people when they are among themselves, Kokoda speakers use Indonesian only for contact with outsiders. The Kokoda are divided into protestant and islam communities. The name Kokoda seems to mean ‘flooded land’. Big parts of the Kokoda area are flooded most of the year. The houses, built on stilts in the water, are interconnected with a kind of bridges.

1.1 Kokoda phone inventory

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	p	t		c	k
	b	d		ɟ	g
Fricatives	β	s	ç		ɣ
Nasals	m	n		ɲ	
Vibrants		r ɾ			
Semi-vowels	w			j	

The sounds [b] and [β], [d] and [r/ɾ] and [g] and [ɣ] have been found to vary between vowels.

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Half-close	e		o
Half-open	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a ʊ	

There are no CC clusters no word-final C in the data.

1.2 Kokoda word list

1. head	wa'kawa	42. heavy	u'tatomo
2. hair(on head)	wa'tunu	43. slippery	'βiriβiria
3. ear	ε'kera	44. one	o'naçia
4. neck	ε'tata	45. two	o'ja
5. mouth	ε'tado	46. three	a'ria
6. tooth	ε'reçinu	47. four	i'daca
7. tongue	ε'nini	48. five	'jɔbɔraraga
8. eye	ε'mago	49. many	ka'pɔra
9. nose	ε'jara	50. little	ko'konumo
10. hand	o'bora	51. all	ε'βomo
11. dirty	kaka'pirumo	52. earth; clay	'bodoɔo
12. hair (on body)	ka'raumu	53. dust	
13. elbow	me'tugeu	54. road	bi'açia/'amia (Nebes)
14. finger	ko'kago	55. narrow	go'goirade
15. nail	me'kepo	56. wide	çi'naniania
16. skin	a'kai	57. mountain	çiri'omo
17. flesh	'waβuki	58. cloud	ma'ninia
18. fat (body)	'gewa	59. rain	ma'ninomo
19. bone	to'ka	60. sky	a'manaja
20. (breast) milk	di'du	61. fog	ta'pana
21. belly	ko'tena	62. wind	a'βedi
22. back	si'pamo	63. hot	u'deria
23. blood	'raro	64. cold	çigaçigaja
24. heart	'βiradi	65. thunder	'makerera
25. liver	a'nibaro	66. lightning	a'wakikirajomo
26. foot	ɔ'tora	67. stick	'kodi
27. swollen	wu'wuta	68. straight	na'βaraga
28. ill	'βetia	69. thick	'amotɔsomo
29. water	tai	70. thin	'dɔbidɔbijomo
30. lake	'kokoda	71. sharp	a'gitomo
31. river	'toiria	72. blunt	'tɔbikomo
32. to flow		73. sun	'egedia
33. sand	ki'rito	74. day	ta'rane
34. wet	'çiriria	75. night	'muekaraja
35. sea	'tawake	76. moon	'puruno
36. salt	'sira	77. star	'turuβi
37. fire	'mukupi (Kasueri)/ 'ineta (Nebes)	78. banana	'udi
38. to grill (food)	'kepamu	79. garden	ka'watata
39. ashes	'udeβi	80. grass	'kutomo
40. smoke	'ku'kubi	81. dry	ma'nagaja
41. stone	'ureko	82. to cut	'peçae
		83. tree/wood	ke'minia

84. to split	'saraβekep'ca	127. full	'itoβa
85. with		128. house	'kenia
86. branch	gega'ja	129. new	'boiçia
87. leaf	oçi'kaja	130. old	to'ɣɔja
88. thorn	βi'taja	131. roof	çiraumo
89. fruit	kabubu'ana	132. in front	me'toraga
90. seed	beɲaja	133. outside	bo'naβaga
91. rotten	ma'kwaria	134. inside	a'βaβaga
92. to stink		135. in	
93. jungle	mo'gija	136. right	me'tunia
94. rope/rattan	ka'nepera	137. left	'dedɔrae
95. to bind	'wɔtoi	138. close	'kimɔraga
96. white	ka'βomo	139. far	'nuakaja
97. black	pa'çipaçomo	140. person	'danetumo
98. red	ge'gero	141. good	'nigeja
99. yellow	'mudimudia	142. bad	ta'sikia
100. green		143. man	'ɔɔtoinia
101. bird	ka'nenu	144. woman	'rawaomo
102. egg	u'ko	145. husband	na'βinia
103. wing	'tunu	146. wife	'kenumu
104. to fly	'jeria	147. father	'aje
105. cassowary	'nimado	148. mother	'ajo
106. fly (n)	ka'rarenu	149. child	a'çiβia/'akota
107. mosquito	'kiβino	150. I	'neiɣa
108. dog	da'wɔra	151. you (SG)	'aiɣa
109. big	'çinani	152. we (INCL)	'niɣa
110. little	to'kuni	153. he/she	i'kera (he)/ i'komo (she)
111. this	ni'a	154. they	'nikaomo
112. that	'memajna	155. who	i'manara
113. same	na'wuciaraga	156. what	i'kaomo
114. different	ɔ'naumo	157. name	'nanaja
115. to bite	ka'tia	158. to come	'mɔe
116. tail	e'rukaja	159. to walk	'βatae
117. fish	koi'naminera	160. to turn around	'tuepe
118. leech	'ɔdo(mo)	161. to know	naβa'redaβe
119. louse	'kono	162. to hear	toβoraβe
120. pig	ta'bai	163. to see	e'tçaβe
121. to shoot (arrow)	pa'raba	164. to look for	ka'toi
122. worm	si'neketa	165. to speak	'nenipe
123. snake	'tameridi	166. true	'taçia
124. long	'ekaboja	167. to drink	u'pe
125. short	'içikia	168. to smoke	pi'eβe
126. mouse	'konaçia	169. to eat	'niβe

170. to spit	wəɕiria pu'ɛβɛ	190. to cough	də'dəna
171. nausea	i'kɔi	191. to count	me'sibe
172. to hit	a'boi	192. to dig	'waetai
173. to pierce (tikam)	ɔ'pe/'kɛrae	193. afraid	'areaja
174. to kill	kə'raβɛ	194. ashamed	wa'nunia/'puparia
175. dead	'dimia	195. to cry	'naria
176. to live	me'regedia	196. to sing	'ɣaria
177. to scratch	'ɔbe	197. to play	si'taria
178. to sit	'amube	198. to push	'mitɔi
179. to stand	i'depe	199. to pull	'taβɛ
180. not	be'bɛgia	200. to brush	
181. to bathe	'upape	201. to wipe	a'wioβɛ/ɕikiaβɛ
182. to fall	'apue	202. to wash	'kawope
183. to lie	'naipe	203. to sew	
184. to sleep	'naipe	204. to throw	'nesipe
185. to dream	'ininarena	205. six	'eketənaɕia
186. to hold	'taβɛ	206. seven	'eketɔja
187. to give	me'be	207. eight	'eketɔa'ria
188. to blow	'uβɛpje	208. nine	'eketuidasa
189. to breath	'weranaebje	209. ten	'təwuɕia

1.3 Percentages of possible lexical correspondences

Kokoda-Inanwatan:	41 correspondences 202 items (20%)
Kokoda-Isogo dialect of Puragi:	61 correspondences in 170 items (35%)
Kokoda-Puragi dialect of Puragi:	52 correspondences in 198 items (26%)
Kokoda-Mugim:	7 correspondences in 199 items (4%)

1.4 Patipi loans

Kokoda	Patipi (Kokas dialect)	Indonesian	English
<i>mitúa</i>	<i>bitún</i>	<i>tombak</i>	spear
<i>wákiwákisi</i>	<i>wakiswakis</i>	<i>acun</i>	harpoon
<i>nóte</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>kain</i> (sarong)	cloth
<i>momóga</i>	<i>momóga</i>	<i>gong</i>	gong
<i>pátau</i>	<i>pása</i>	<i>beras</i>	rice
<i>kokóko</i>	<i>kokó</i>	<i>ayam</i>	chicken

1.5 Morphological data

1.5.1 Gender

A masculine-feminine gender distinction is a pervasive feature of Kokoda morphology affecting 3SG verb forms, adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns and nouns. The gender system resembles the Inanwatan system very closely, with back vowels associated with the feminine gender and front vowels with the masculine gender. Examples:

- (1) *Móma-e dānes-i wátak-aja.*
 person-M that-M bad-M
 That man is bad.
- (2) *Móma dānes-o wátak-omo.*
 person.F that-F bad-F
 That woman is bad.
- (3) *Notuá-βa-nie.*
 go-FUT-3SG.M
 He shall go.
- (4) *Notuá-βa-nuo.*
 go-FUT-3SG.F
 She shall go.

1.5.2 Nouns

In nouns, number and gender are distinguished. Apart from a class of mostly animate nouns in which gender has a semantic basis (see examples (1), (2), (5), (6)), the Kokoda gender system seems to be a phonological one, with nouns in /e/ or /i/ masculine and nouns ending in /a/, /o/ and /u/ feminine.

- (5) *daβóra nigé-ja*
 dog.M good-M
 a good (male) dog
- (6) *daβóro nigé-jomo*
 dog.F good-F
 a good (female) dog
- (7) *údi nigé-ja*
 banana good-M
 a good banana
- (8) *kéni nigé-ja*
 house good-M
 a good house

Just as in Inanwatan, masculine nouns seem to take the feminine form in the plural and feminine nouns remain unchanged in the plural:

- (9) *kénija* house
 (10) *kénimo* houses
 (11) *kokókerá* cock
 (12) *kokóko* hen
 (13) *kokóko* chickens

1.5.3 Personal pronouns

Gender, grammatical function and number are distinguished in personal pronouns:

- (14)
- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| 1SG subject | <i>néiya</i> |
| 1SG object | <i>náme</i> |
| 2SG | <i>áiya</i> |
| 3SG.M | <i>nigéra</i> |
| 3SG.F | <i>nigómo</i> |
| 1PL subject | <i>nigára/níyi</i> |
| 1PL object | <i>jáme</i> |
| 2PL | <i>íya</i> |
| 3PL | <i>nigáumo</i> |

There are the following possessive pronominal forms in the data:

- (15)
- | |
|--------------------|
| <i>néri-kénija</i> |
| my-house |
| <i>ádi-kénija</i> |
| your(SG)-house |
| <i>níge-kénija</i> |
| his-house |
| <i>nígo-kénija</i> |
| her-house |

1.5.4 Verbs

The verbs in the survey consist of a stem followed by a tense/mood slot and a person/number slot. Sometimes it is possible to distinguish separate person and number slots. The Future paradigm distinguishes gender in the third person singular forms.

- (16) *Ojáre údi-ja ni-da-βa.*
 yesterday banana-M eat-PAST-1SG
 Yesterday I ate a banana.
- (17) *Tabákomo pie-ra-βa.*
 tobacco smoke-PAST-1SG
 I smoked tobacco.

The Past suffix *-da* in (16) occurs after verb stems ending in /i/, elsewhere (as in (17) the Past suffix is *-ra*. (Compare Inanwatan Past suffix *-re* with its allomorph *-de* after i-stems.) Past paradigm with *notúa-* ‘to go’, in which *-i* seems to mark plurality:

- (18)
- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| SG | 1 | <i>notúa-ra-ba</i> |
| | 2 | <i>notúa-ra-be</i> |
| | 3 | <i>notúa-ja</i> |
| PL | 1 | <i>notúa-ra-ban-i</i> |
| | 2 | <i>notúa-ra-be-i</i> |
| | 3 | <i>notúa-ra-ja-i</i> |

Past paradigm with a verb stem ending in /i/, *ni-* ‘to eat’:

- (19)
- | | | |
|----|--------|--------------------|
| SG | 1 | <i>ni-da-βa</i> |
| | 2 | <i>ni-da-βe</i> |
| | 3 | <i>nì-na</i> |
| PL | 1EX | <i>ni-da-βan-i</i> |
| | 1IN(?) | <i>nì-da-βa-mu</i> |
| | 2 | <i>ni-da-βe-i</i> |
| | 3 | <i>ni-na-i</i> |

The Future marker is *-βa*. There seems to be a masculine/feminine distinction in the third person singular forms and an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural Future forms. The Future paradigm of *notúa-* ‘to go’:

- (20)
- | | | | |
|----|---------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| SG | 1 | <i>notuá-βa-ena</i> | ‘I shall go/I want to go’ |
| | 2 | <i>notuá-βe</i> | |
| | 3M | <i>notuá-βa-nie</i> | |
| | 3F | <i>notuá-βa-nuo</i> | |
| PL | 1EX | <i>notuá-βa-dona</i> | |
| | 1IN/2PL | <i>notuá-βa-dora</i> | |
| | 3 | <i>notuá-βa-do</i> | |

The imperative marker is *-βe*. In the imperative plural the plural suffix *-i* (compare (18) and (19)) is added. The negative imperative is based on the future forms and the negative adverb *ótukara*:

- (21) *Tabákomo pié-βe.*
tobacco smoke-IMP.SG
You must smoke!
- (22) *Tabákomo pié-βe-i.*
tobacco smoke-IMP-PL
You(PL) must smoke!
- (23) *Náme toβo-βe.*
me(O) listen-IMP.SG
Listen to me!

- (24) *Otukara notúa-βa-dora.*
 NEG.IMP go-FUT-2PL.
 You must not walk!

2 Puragi

The Puragi language is spoken in the villages Puragi (600 speakers), Saga (300) and Bedare (250) on the Metamani river, and in the coastal village Isogo (250). The Puragi people call their language *iwáro*. The Puragi language is classified a member of the South Bird's Head family (Voorhoeve 1975). I visited Puragi village on 26 and 27 September 1995. Main informants: Tomas Watarai, born 1948 in Puragi, *Sekolah Dasar* Puragi, JVV5 (*Jongens Vervolg School*); Kristian Manetuni, born in 1942 in Puragi, *Sekolah Dasar* Puragi; Wilhelmus Manas, born 1945, *Sekolah Dasar* Puragi.

2.1 Phone inventory

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p b	t d			k g	ʔ
Fricatives			ç			
	β					
Nasals	m	n				
Vibrants		r				
Semi-Vowels	w			j		

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Half-close	e		o
Half-open	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Open		a	

There are no CC clusters nor final C in the data.

2.2 Word list (Puragi dialect)

I have taken word lists from Puragi, Bedare and Isogo. Bedare and Isogo generally correspond and contrast with the Puragi dialect. Some correspondences: medial voiced plosives have prenasalization in Bedare/Isogo but not in Puragi; and Puragi [d] is [dʒ] in Bedare/Isogo.

1. head	na'kɔɪβi	44. one	mɔ'ʔɔnada
2. hair (on head)	na'βainu	45. two	ou'ge
3. ear	na'erawu	46. three	'arwe
4. neck	na'bumana	47. four	'ouge'ouge
5. mouth	ne'anu	48. five	nebo'raida
6. tooth	nama'nu	49. many	'muro
7. tongue	ne'ʔani	50. little	ke'keʔu
8. eye	nə'magu	51. all	ʔe'ʔemu
9. nose	na'miɔbi	52. earth; clay	bɔ'dɔna
10. hand	ne'bɔru	53. dust	βiβi'ɔ
11. dirty	kakapiri	54. road	a'omi
12. hair (on body)	nedinaka'rara	55. narrow	ge'nani
13. elbow	ne'tubɔni	56. wide	'mago
14. finger	ne'bɔrugɪ'giaru	57. mountain	pe'tɔ
15. nail	ne'geɕianu	58. cloud	ma'ninɔ
16. skin	ne'din'atai	59. rain	pa'ratɔ
17. flesh	'amabuʔi	60. sky	ma'ninɔ
18. fat (body)	'gewa	61. fog	ta'panɔ
19. bone	kɔ'tɔma	62. wind	a'mepuri/a'mepuro (big)
20. (breast) milk	'didɔ	63. hot	'kakeri
21. belly	'eβi	64. cold	rɔ'βɔʔu
22. back	'bɔaku	65. thunder	'gurwerano
23. blood	a'pa'ʔa	66. lightning	i'boɕianeri
24. heart	bi'jauri	67. stick	ma'kereri/ko'di
25. liver	'aubɔ	68. straight	ke'kebi
26. foot	ne'ʔɔru	69. thick	a'mɔuwi
27. swollen	βi'jarapanu	70. thin	rereɕi/rereʔi
28. ill	ba'taʔanu	71. sharp	a'geui
29. water	a'dɔna	72. blunt	tɔ'piʔi
30. lake	'maraganɔ	73. sun	ɛ'gedi
31. river	'ɔwedi	74. day	bɛ'reane
32. to flow		75. night	'muareni
33. sand	mi'ɔni	76. moon	mani'nagu
34. wet	'rupi	77. star	mɔ'beni
35. sea	tu'ano	78. banana	a'mimi
36. salt	'muɛdɔnɔ	79. garden	'auro
37. fire	ka'diβa	80. grass	ɕiwɔni
38. to grill (food)	'eiβɛ	81. dry	ka'keri
39. ashes	bɔ'ani	82. to cut	ta'raβɛ
40. smoke	ku'kubi	83. tree/wood	ɛ'mini
41. stone	bɛ'ʔɔni	84. to split	ka'beβɛ
42. heavy	'rabɛranɔ	85. with	
43. slippery	wɔ'teteanu	86. branch	me'ʔaga

87. leaf	ci'akeni/'roni	130. old	'nouto
88. thorn	'w'w'bera	131. roof	a'wani
89. fruit	'aba	132. in front	
90. seed	u'guni	133. outside	('eino) e'pono
91. rotten	mi'au	134. inside	('eino) a'gano
92. to stink		135. in	
93. jungle	mou'gi	136. right	ne'uni
94. rope/rattan	kori	137. left	'didora
95. to bind	'baβe	138. close	'bora
96. white	ke'w'oni	139. far	ou'βa
97. black	bi'w'ebi'eni	140. person	dane'wi/dane'wu (PL)
98. red	mumu'ri	141. good	nai/na'jo
99. yellow		142. bad	de'ci
100. green	'manageo	143. man	ra'bini
101. bird	ka'neni	144. woman	'rawo
102. egg	wu'ko	145. husband	a'magodi
103. wing	meto'ra	146. wife	(n)a'mago
104. to fly	'berabai	147. father	ade'we
105. cassowary	i'ro	148. mother	ado'wo
106. fly (n)	'mourai	149. child	'aβara
107. mosquito	ko'momo	150. I	ne'wi
108. dog	'roga (male)/ 'rogo (female)	151. you (SG)	e'wi
109. big	'mago	152. we (INCL)	ni'didi
110. little	'kitai	153. he/she	ni'de (male)/ ni'do (female)
111. this	'goi'a	154. they	ni'dau
112. that	du'a'awo	155. who	i'maero
113. same	mo'w'onu	156. what	ni'ga'wu
114. different	me'weke	157. name	'naidi
115. to bite	a'geano	158. to come	'maβe
116. tail	re'wai	159. to walk	'wβe
117. fish	bi'be'a	160. to turn around	βa'daβe
118. leech	'jondaro	161. to know	to'tora'adera
119. louse	'kono	162. to hear	o'boβe
120. pig	βu'wi	163. to see	βe'ze
121. to shoot (arrow)	'paeβe	164. to look for	era'βeze
122.	worm a'ro'wini	165. to speak	'awo'neβe
123. snake	'geidi	166. true	'aβu(mo)
124. long	me'ri	167. to drink	u'reβe
125. short	ka'ma'ada	168. to smoke	'uragaβe
126. mouse	a'di'wi	169. to eat	ni'ge
127. full	do'bweano	170. to spit	bo'de'a' reiβi
128. house	'eino	171. nausea	βi'wβe
129. new	'ito	172. to hit	'jaβe

173. to pierce	'keraβe/'auraβe	192. to dig	a'βeaβe
174. to kill	kɔ'βeε/'taupuβe	193. afraid	iga'wa(rə)
175. dead	'tauʔanedɔ	194. ashamed	ari'aβe
176. to live	tu'mɔrani	195. to cry	'kaurane
177. to scratch	'wouge	196. to sing	ɔ'βena 'kairabai
178. to sit	a'muge	197. to play	'dirabae
179. to stand	i'deβe	198. to push	mi'ʔɔβe
180. not	εʔi'ɔwɔ	199. to pull	'βiʔe
181. to bathe	'wapaβe	200. to brush	pi'pɔβe
182. to fall	'abuβe	201. to wipe	ʔiʔige
183. to lie	'rairariaβe (?)	202. to wash	rɔ'kɔβe
184. to sleep	'inaβe	203. to sew	
185. to dream	'ini naru	204. to throw	'reiβe/'auraβe
186. to hold	gi'nɔβe	205. six	nebo'raida 'mɔʔɔnada
187. to give	'meige	206. seven	nebo'raida ou'ge
188. to blow	'wepaβe	207. eight	nebo'raida 'arwe
189. to breath	i'mumui ga'ranε	208. nine	nebo'raida ou'ge ou'ge
190. to cough	pa'paurane	209. ten	nebo'raida ne'bɔru
191. to count	ra'hapuβe		

2.3 Lexical correspondence percentages

Puragi-Kokoda(Kasueri):	52 correspondences in 198 items = 26%
Puragi-Mugim:	6 correspondences in 203 items = 3%
Puragi-Inanwatan:	52 correspondences in 199 items = 25%

2.4 Patipi loans

Puragi	Patipi	Indonesian	English
<i>nɔɔ</i>	<i>nɔt</i>	<i>kain</i>	cloth
<i>sɔɔgɔni</i>	<i>sɔsɔna</i>	<i>kelawai</i>	forked spear
<i>neʔai</i>	<i>nek</i>	<i>kambing</i>	goat

2.5 Morphological data

2.5.1 Personal pronouns

(25)	<i>neʔi</i>	I
	<i>eʔi</i>	you (SG)
	<i>nide</i>	he
	<i>nido</i>	she
	<i>nididi</i>	we
	<i>eʔemuʔididi</i>	you (PL)
	<i>nidáo</i>	they

The personal pronouns are also used as possessive pronouns (26), except with bodyparts and kinship nouns where possessive prefixes were found for 1SG, 1PL and 2SG forms (27) but personal pronouns in the other forms (28):

- (26) *neʔi éino*
my house
nido éino
her house
- (27) *na-warada* my younger sibling
na-koiβi my head
a-koiβi your(SG) head
nida-koʔiβo our heads
- (28) *nide-koʔiβi* his head
nido-koʔiβo her head
ididi-koʔiβi your (PL) heads
nidao-koʔiβi their heads

2.5.2 Gender

As in Inanwatan and Kokoda, gender pervades the grammar of Puragi affecting nouns, demonstratives, adjectives and verbs and the system works along the same lines. Again, front vowels are associated with masculine and non-front vowels with feminine gender:

- (29) *Eino góʔa/dáuʔa nasi-ómo.*
house this.F/that.F good-F
This/that house is good.
- (30) *Rabíni dáíʔa nasi-to.*
man that.M good-M
That man is good.
- (31) *Ráwo dáuʔa nasi-ómo.*
woman that.F good-F
That woman is attractive.
- (32) *Mo-βá-mai.*
come-FUT-3SG.M
He will come.
- (33) *Mo-βá-mao.*
come-FUT-3SG.F
She will come.

Whereas in Kokoda and Inanwatan gender has a semantic basis in animate nouns only (male versus female referents), in Puragi (as in Tehit, Flassy 1991) the vowel opposition front versus non-front is used in animate nouns to distinguish male from female referents (30/31) and in (at least some) inanimate nouns to distinguish small from big referents, (34/35):

- (34) *amépurí* wind
amépuro strong wind

- (35) *beqóni* stone
beqóno big stone

Nouns distinguish number, with the plural expressed by /u/ replacing the stem final vowel of the singular. A number of nouns have irregular plurals:

- (36) *éino* house
éinu muro many houses

- (37) *róga* male dog
rógo female dog
roroga dogs

- (38) *rabíni moqónada* one man
ráwo moqónado one woman
rabínu arwé many people

2.5.3 *Verbs*

Puragi verbs consist of a verb stem followed by a tense or mood marker and a person/number(/gender) slot. The Past marker is *-ra* with *-da* after *i*-stems (cf. Kokoda and Inanwatan cognate Past markers with their allophones). Gender (M/F) is expressed in 3SG forms. The person-number markers of Past and Present are the same.

- (39) Past paradigm of *ni*- 'to eat'

1SG	<i>ni-dá-no</i>
2SG	<i>ni-dá-de</i>
3SG.M	<i>ni-dá-nedo</i>
3SG.F	<i>ni-dá-nomo</i>
1PL	<i>ni-dá-ninio</i>
2PL	<i>ni-dá-duro</i>
3PL	<i>ni-dá-numo</i>

The Present forms are also used for events occurring before utterance time on the same day (compare Inanwatan Present forms). The Present is marked by *-a*. The paradigm of *ni*- 'to eat':

- (40) 1SG *ni-ʔa-no*
2SG *ni-ʔa-dero*
3SG.M *ni-ʔa-nedo*
3SG.F *ni-ʔa-numo*
1PL *ni-ʔa-ninio*
2PL *ni-ʔa-duro*
3PL *ni-ʔa-numo*

Future tense is marked by *-βa* (*-ra* with first person forms). The paradigm of *mo*- 'to come':

- (41)
- | | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| 1SG | <i>mo-rá-ʔo</i> |
| 2SG | <i>má-βe</i> |
| 3SG.M | <i>mo-βá-ma-i</i> |
| 3SG.F | <i>mo-βá-ma-o</i> |
| 1PL | <i>mo-ra-ba-ni-ʔo</i> |
| 2PL | <i>mo-βá-ma-o-ro</i> |
| 3PL | <i>mo-βá-ma-o-mo</i> |

The imperative corresponds to the 2SG future form:

- (42)
- | | |
|----------------|--------|
| <i>tará-βe</i> | cut! |
| <i>kaβá-βe</i> | pound! |
| <i>má-βe</i> | come! |

The negative adverb *aβéra* precedes the imperative form in negative contexts:

- (43)
- | | |
|--------------|------------------|
| <i>Aβéra</i> | <i>nidá-βe</i> . |
| do.not | eat-IMP |
| Don't eat! | |

3 The Yahadian language

Yahadian, of the Konda-Yahadian family, spoken in the villages Mugim, Yahadian and (parts of) Kais, is the western neighbour of the Inanwatan language. Konda, spoken in the villages Konda and Sisir in the Teminabuan subdistrict, and Yahadian seem to be dialects of the Konda-Yahadian language. Speakers of the Mugim-Yahadian variety claimed that they could easily understand Konda speakers. They claimed also that they could not understand Tehit, and that they hardly understood Puragi and the language of Makororo, a village on the Kais river where a dialect of May Brat is spoken (Dol 1999).

The village of Mugim, situated on the Metamani river close to its mouth, has around 750 inhabitants and Yahadian, on the Kais river, around 400. I visited Mugim on 26 and 27 September 1995. Many informants helped me there. Two main informants were Yunus Mebúto (born in Mugim, 1926) and Doroteis Reráte (born in Mugim, 1923), both with elementary and junior high school education.

The data on the variety spoken in the village Yahadian I obtained in Inanwatan in October 1995 from the *mantri* Nataniel Regói, born in 1944 in Yahadian and with elementary school plus junior high school education. All data given here are from Mugim. According to the Mugim people, Yahadian is the younger brother village and Mugim the older brother village.

3.1 Phone inventory

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p b	t d	ts dʒ	c ɟ	k g	
Fricatives	β φ				ɣ x	h
Nasals	m	n			ŋ	
Vibrants		r ɾ				
Semi-vowels	w					

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Half-close	e		o
Half-open	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Open		a	

Yahadian allows CC clusters and at least some word-final C (whereas Kokoda, Inanwatan and Puragi do not allow them):

(44) CC clusters with [rC] or [Cr]:

<i>'merge</i>	rotten
<i>ba'brite</i>	evening
<i>pru'ɛ</i>	to bite
<i>umrei</i>	to pierce

(45) CC clusters with [Nt]:

<i>hɔmanta</i>	to sing
<i>ɛdamta</i>	to play

Nasals and vibrants were found word-finally:

(46)	<i>'dɛtrun</i>	bone
	<i>di'gir</i>	skin

3.2 Yahadian word list (Mugim dialect)

1.	head	dɛ'βɛɛ	8.	eye	di:
2.	hair (on head)	dɛ'βɛɛwer	9.	nose	'diŋgu
3.	ear	'depe	10.	hand	dɛ're
4.	neck	de'hɔi	11.	dirty	bagi'nɔge
5.	mouth	de'pa	12.	hair (on body)	di'guhu
6.	tooth	di'nam	13.	elbow	dɛ'retucu
7.	tongue	'derɔnam	14.	finger	dɛ'redɛdehuŋ

15.	nail	dɛrɛ'hui	58.	cloud	'oʝanama
16.	skin	di'gir	59.	rain	ɔʝ'ar
17.	flesh	dɛ'nam	60.	sky	'ɔʝanam
18.	fat (body)	a'mɛr	61.	fog	pacu'ar
19.	bone	'dɛtrun	62.	wind	ru'a
20.	(breast) milk	hu	63.	hot	hu'pute
21.	belly	dɛ'tɔr	64.	cold	'ɔdage
22.	back	dɛ'rɔhabrutun	65.	thunder	rɛrɛ'ti
23.	blood	di'gruʃan	66.	lightning	ba'grɔ
24.	heart	'dɛmɛnagar	67.	stick	e'na
25.	liver	dɔ'rɔmɛgin	68.	straight	'catume/'ririme
26.	foot	dɛ'be	69.	thick	'dɔine
27.	swollen	ba	70.	thin	'dɔinoxie
28.	ill	'digigɛ	71.	sharp	'papaha
29.	water	hɛ'dɛ	72.	blunt	pa'hie
30.	lake		73.	sun	ti
31.	river	mu	74.	day	ti'mɛ
32.	to flow		75.	night	babrite
33.	sand	ʝa	76.	moon	'hurɔ
34.	wet	'hure	77.	star	'cuɔ
35.	sea	'hubu	78.	banana	'hunɟunɔn
36.	salt	'buahro	79.	garden	ta'tarɔ
37.	fire	'cua	80.	grass	'pehegin
38.	to grill (food)	cu'puni	81.	dry	hu'ai
39.	ashes	te'pa	82.	to cut	ta'gorani
40.	smoke	cu'ameha	83.	tree/wood	ʃi
41.	stone	'pacɔ	84.	to split	'tairia
42.	heavy	bɔ'rɛte	85.	with	
43.	slippery	xi'xirɛ	86.	branch	pa'pa
44.	one	mu'cu	87.	leaf	ʃɛr
45.	two	'irɛɛ	88.	thorn	'bibi
46.	three	ɔ'riɛɛ	89.	fruit	nɔi
47.	four	'dɛherihi	90.	seed	bur
48.	five	dɛ'rɛbiamu'cu	91.	rotten	'mɛrge
49.	many	'nɔɛ	92.	to stink	
50.	little	nɔɟɔ'hie	93.	jungle	uɟ
51.	all	'dimitaige	94.	rope/rattan	ɔ'ri
52.	earth; clay	ta	95.	to bind	te
53.	dust	ta'ginaha	96.	white	a'bɔɟɔɟɛ
54.	road	'umunaj	97.	black	'mɛʝuane
55.	narrow	'ɛce	98.	red	pu'ane
56.	wide	'ririne	99.	yellow	'kunɟun
57.	mountain	ɔ'raɟ/ɔ'ran	100.	green	kɛ'kɛtɔ

101. bird	a	144. woman	βa
102. egg	u	145. husband	'murete/'note
103. wing	'gia	146. wife	βa'meta
104. to fly	bu'ta	147. father	dei
105. cassowary	kaha'war	148. mother	mam
106. fly (N)	pu'cu	149. child	pra
107. mosquito	ni'nɔ	150. I	
108. dog	'jia	151. you (SG)	
109. big	'nɔŋe	152. we (INCL)	
110. little	'abuge	153. he/she	
111. this	jɛ	154. they	
112. that	wɔ	155. who	ɛ'mɛago
113. same	'umade	156. what	'nua(gɔ)
114. different	'giteŋe	157. name	ru'en
115. to bite	pru'ɛ	158. to come	'amɔ
116. tail	rɔ'ha	159. to walk	'mane
117. fish	ba'nɔ	160. to turn	'ubaitenta
118. leech	'briti	161. to know	ciɛ/cɛ
119. louse	nɔ	162. to hear	
120. pig	'mɔmɔ	163. to see	'cahane
121. to shoot (arrow)	'tɛnɛ	164. to look for	bati'erta
122. worm	'tamɛŋgi	165. to speak	'pahamenta
123. snake	wahu'kɔ	166. true	ɔ'bɔre
124. long	rɔ'paimɛ	167. to drink	'nɔme
125. short	'tɛpɛ	168. to smoke	'hɔpɔta
126. mouse	'katɔ	169. to eat	'nɔme
127. full	ci'ɛ/cɛ	170. to spit	'depahur
128. house	ɔ	171. nausea	'ruawtenta
129. new	dʒi	172. to hit	'tɔβɛɛ
130. old	ra	173. to pierce	'umrei
131. roof	xi	174. to kill	'ɔ(me)
132. front (house)	(ɔ)pur	175. dead	dʒu'a
133. outside (house)	(ɔ)hi'ɔi	176. to live	bri'taine
134. inside (house)	(ɔ)mur	177. to scratch	'riheta
135. in		178. to sit	'nade
136. right	dɛ'rɛcua	179. to stand	'nende
137. left	dɛ'rekan	180. not (IMP)	'baɦɛ
138. close	a'ɸɛɛŋe	181. to bathe	cu'ame
139. far	'ahiage	182. to fall	'nure
140. person	'dʒigi	183. to lie	'nairue
141. good	hɔ'bɔre	184. to sleep	'nairue
142. bad	gi'ne	185. to dream	ure'ɦɛ
143. man	rua'ti	186. to hold	'mure

187. to give	'rɛnuɛ	199. to pull	bri'aingenta
188. to blow	'ciwɔ	200. to brush	'pananta
189. to breath	hɛhɛ'ta	201. to wipe	'dijɛɛ
190. to cough	'dɔhɛta	202. to wash	hu'buɟare
191. to count	'baŋgiɛta	203. to sew	
192. to dig	hrita	204. to throw	u'waɛ
193. afraid	hɛ'berɔ	205. six	'dɛnam 'mucu
194. ashamed	igigi'maime	206. seven	dɛ'nam 'irɛɛ
195. to cry	ci'bita	207. eight	dɛ'nam 'ɔriɛɛ
196. to sing	hɔ'manta	208. nine	dɛ'nam 'dɛhɛriɟi
197. to play	ɛ'damta	209. ten	dɛ'rɛbirɛhɛ
198. to push	uru'ahɔɛ		

3.3 Percentages of lexical correspondences

Mugim-Inanwatan:	16 correspondences 212 items (8%)
Mugim-Puragi dialect of Puragi:	6 correspondences in 203 items (3%)
Mugim-Kokoda:	7 correspondences in 199 items (4%)

3.4 Patipi loans

Mugim	Patipi (Kokas dialect)	(local) Malay	English
<i>uróroi</i>	<i>wároroi</i>	<i>urip</i>	red parrot
<i>raar-noti</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>kain</i> (sarong)	sarong cloth
<i>guhu</i>	<i>guci</i>	<i>guci</i>	earthenware vessel
<i>néki</i>	<i>nek</i>	<i>kambing</i>	goat
<i>kokóro</i>	<i>koko</i>	<i>ayam</i>	chicken

3.5 Morphological data

3.5.1 Personal pronouns

(47)	1SG	<i>né(nigi)</i>
	2SG	<i>é(rigi)</i>
	3SG	<i>mí(gigi)</i>
	1PL	<i>ná(gigi)</i>
	2PL	<i>ádigi/adɟigi</i>
	3PL	<i>míginaigi</i>

The Yahadian informant also gave *wo* for both the 3SG and the 3PL personal pronouns. This is a distal demonstrative 'that/those' used as personal pronoun.

3.5.2 Possessive pronouns

- (48) 1SG *néne*
 2SG *ére*
 3SG *migéne*
 1PL *na/nam*
 2PL *ádi*
 3PL *mígina*

One set of possessive pronouns seems to be in use for all nouns, whether kinship terms, bodypart nouns or other nouns:

- (49) *néne pra*
 my child
 (50) *néne o*
 my house
 (51) *ére pra*
 your (SG) child
 (52) *migéne o*
 his house
 (53) *na o*
 our house
 (54) *nam pra*
 our child

3.5.3 Verbs

The verbs in the elicited data consist of a verb stem (sometimes with suppletive plural stems), followed by a tense/mood suffix. In sentences elicited with *ápeme* 'yesterday' these forms occur:

- (55) *man-* (PL stem *ray-*) 'to go' (data from the dialect spoken in the village Yahadian)
Me ápeme mán-e.
 I yesterday go-PAST
E ápeme mán-e.
 you(SG) yesterday go-PAST
Wo ápeme mán-e.
 he/she yesterday go-PAST
Na ápeme ráy-e.
 we yesterday go.PL-PAST
A ápeme ráy-e.
 you(PL) yesterday go.PL-PAST
Miginaigi ápeme ráy-e.
 they yesterday go.PL-PAST

In sentences elicited with *mopána* 'tomorrow' these forms occur:

- (56) *Ne/e/wo mopána man-omega.*
 I/you/he/she tomorrow go-FUT
Na/a/wo mopána ray-omega.
 we/you/they tomorrow go.PL-FUT

In negative sentences with *ápeme* 'yesterday' these forms occur:

- (57) *Ne/e/wo ápeme man-ohié.*
 I/you/he/she yesterday go-NEG
Na/a/migináigi ápeme ray-ohié.
 we/you/they yesterday go.PL-NEG

In response to the Malay stimulus '*saya ada jalan*' ('I am going'), these forms were given:

- (58) *Ne/e/woha man-ta.*
 I/you/he/she DUR go-PRES
Na/a/wo ha ray-ta.
 we/you/they DUR go.PL-PRES

From the Mugim dialect these forms are in the data.

- (59) *Rey-ogaga!*
 go.PL-NEG.IMP
 Do not go!
 (60) *A-rey-ome!*
 ADH-go.PL-FUT
 Let us go.
 (61) *Ne/na momó ginan nó-me.*
 I/we pig meat eat-FUT
 I want to eat pig meat.

3.5.4 Nouns

There seems to be no gender in nouns (nor in demonstratives and adjectives), see (70/71); plural forms are only found with kinship nouns, (69). Data from the Mugim dialect:

- (62) *o* house
 (63) *néne o* my house
 (64) *o nuáne* many houses
 (65) *dzigi* person
 (66) *dzigi múcigéine* one person
 (67) *dzígi óriege* two persons
 (68) *dzígi nuáne* many persons

Kinship nouns in the data have plurals formed by adding *-o* to the noun stem:

- (69) *gey* father
geyó fathers
mam mother
mamó mothers
ay uncle
ayo uncles
káka aunt
kakáo aunts
bor nephew (MBs)
boró nephews
- (70) *Orame ye nanáigine.*
man this bad
This man is bad.
- (71) *Wa ye nanáigine.*
woman this bad
This woman is bad.

4 Patipi word list (Kokas dialect)

The informants were the Kepala Desa Kokas (name and age unknown), Abdul Mutalip (born 1965), anonymous informants loading the Buginese ship that took me from Inanwatan to Kokas and back. Date 29/30 September 1995, place: Kokas (Kab. Fak-Fak). When Malay words were given, they appear bracketed.

1. head	nén	21. belly	bi'tuan
2. hair (on head)	nu'ɸaki	22. back	ta'wanan
3. ear	ta'nigan	23. blood	'rara
4. neck	'gurar	24. heart	(jantung)
5. mouth	'suman	25. liver	'jatan
6. tooth	'niɸan	26. foot	'ɸanen
7. tongue	'kerer	27. swollen	
8. eye	bati'batén	28. ill	'ɸanas (panas)
9. nose	ipir/idum	29. water	wer
10. hand	'niman	30. lake	
11. dirty	(kotor)	31. river	'irinana
12. hair (on body)		32. to flow	
13. elbow	bukin	33. sand	ki'dai
14. finger		34. wet	
15. nail		35. sea	(laut)
16. skin	'kunet	36. alt	'sira
17. flesh	(daging)	37. fire	'jafi
18. fat (body)		38. to grill (food)	mi'tuni
19. bone	rururi	39. ashes	'jafiru
20. (breast) milk	(susu)	40. smoke	'masi/swan

41. stone	'bati	84. to split	
42. heavy	ma'berat	85. with	
43. slippery	sa'pin	86. branch	i'sagan
44. one	'isa/sa'watan	87. leaf	i'ɸakin
45. two	'nua	88. thorn	
46. three	tin	89. fruit	'buan
47. four	ɸat	90. seed	
48. five	'nima	91. rotten	si'gir
49. many	'jani	92. to stink	
50. little		93. jungle	
51. all	'karagatuni	94. rope/rattan	'waras
52. earth; clay	'ropak	95. to bind	
53. dust		96. white	i'rires
54. road		97. black	kut'kuda
55. narrow		98. red (<i>merah</i>)	(merah)
56. wide		99. yellow	
57. mountain	'keni	100. green	
58. cloud	'parontei	101. bird	'manik
59. rain	'jagin	102. egg	'baten
60. sky		103. wing	sa'naɸen
61. fog		104. to fly	
62. wind	'diri	105. cassowary	
63. hot		106. fly (N)	ki'bur
64. cold		107. mosquito	'kiɸen
65. thunder	'dudem	108. dog	esi'ana
66. lightning	ninaɸa'tepa	109. big	ma'gen
67. stick		110. little	gu'riɸ
68. straight		111. this	ami'ge
69. thick	ma'kaɸan	112. that	ami'ne
70. thin	ma'nipes	113. same	
71. sharp		114. different	
72. blunt		115. to bite	
73. sun	'rera	116. tail	
74. day	kimer	117. fish	sai
75. night	masiag	118. leech	
76. moon	'bunan	119. louse	
77. star	ɸenemu'ma	120. pig	kwai'keni
78. banana	'ɸudi	121. to shoot (arrow)	'ɸana
79. garden	sa'rag	122. worm	gɔrgɔr
80. grass		123. snake	kuna'nawas
81. dry		124. long	ma'nawas
82. to cut		125. short	'ɸisik
83. tree/wood	ka'jaj	126. mouse	

127. full		169. to eat	
128. house		170. to spit	
129. new	beri	171. nausea	
130. old	tu'ari	172. to hit	'baban
131. roof		173. to pierce	
132. in front		174. to kill	a'φedan
133. outside		175. dead	
134. inside		176. to live	
135. in		177. to scratch	
136. right		178. to sit	ma'tonak
137. left		179. to stand	am'riri
138. close	ka'ragar	180. not	a'miata
139. far	bə'bair	181. to bathe	
140. person	mən'cia	182. to fall	
141. good	kwes	183. to lie	arwa
142. bad	'keφan	184. to sleep	arwa
143. man	'murarara	185. to dream	'niφi
144. woman	bat'bata	186. to hold	agwain
145. husband	'sawan	187. to give	aφi'ɔ
146. wife	'sawanbata	188. to blow	
147. father	'jaman	189. to breath	
148. mother	ninen	190. to cough	
149. child	ku'kanak	191. to count	a'reke
150. I	jai	192. to dig	
151. you (SG)	ɔ	193. afraid	
152. we (INCL)	ja'je	194. ashamed	
153. he/she	'ija	195. to cry	a'tages
154. they	a'soi/si'nɔgwa	196. to sing	a'φedek nanin
155. who		197. to play	am'nagen
156. what		198. to push	a'soin
157. name	'gara	199. to pull	a'togar
158. to come	a'ma	200. to brush	
159. to walk	a'pana	201. to wipe	
160. to turn around		202. to wash	a'tupi
161. to know		203. to sew	
162. to hear	mi'tanam	204. to throw	
163. to see	mi'niga	205. six	nem
164. to look for		206. seven	bu'teras
165. to speak	φrɔk/a'φrɔk	207. eight	bite'rua
166. true		208. nine	mas'muti
167. to drink	'minem	209. ten	busu'a
168. to smoke	mi'sugi		

Additional items:

210. sago	'konan (raw)'/dana (ready to be eaten)	223. firematch	'garis
211. papeda (sago porridge)	i'rak	224. palmwine (<i>segeru nipah</i>)	'segwer
212. rice	'pasa	225. chicken	ko'ko
213. knife	'sisin	226. goat	nek
214. money	'pitis	227. yesterday	'kerga
215. tobacco	ta'baki	228. tomorrow	'utaφ
216. sago grub	ka'batar	229. to steal	aφ'nage
217. wall (<i>gaba-gaba</i>)	ka'par	230. clothes	kum'nasi
218. roof (<i>atap</i>)	'siraφaken	231. flying fox (<i>kelalawar</i>)	madmada
219. floor	ger'gara	232. friend	'warer
220. coconut	rur	233. king (<i>raja</i>)	'nati
221. dugout canoe	rai	234. slave	ka'jam
222. bamboo	'wami	235. cloth	not

5 Benawa word list

In the villages Benawa I, Benawa II, Sumano and Atori, the Benawa (or Kaburi) language is spoken by about 1000 people. The following list was taken (in the Indonesian spelling) by the anthropologist Dianne van Oosterhout in the village Sumano, in April 1997; the informant was Mr Aser Dene.

1. head	na'awa	21. belly	akoh'ea
2. hair (on head)	wahinu	22. back	
3. ear	kerawa	23. blood	amaha
4. neck	etata	24. heart	nawira'izi
5. mouth	zahanu	25. liver	wira'izi
6. tooth	amano	26. foot	nahara
7. tongue	nanuni	27. swollen	pupubai
8. eye	amiago	28. ill	wetazio
9. nose	mitowi	29. water	ha'abi
10. hand	mekepa	30. lake	hohara
11. dirty	kotoranu	31. river	howeri
12. hair (on body)	nazini	32. to flow	horore
13. elbow	omani	33. sand	egei
14. finger	iwara	34. wet	heriri
15. nail	nobohaynu	35. sea	djerau
16. skin	aka'i	36. salt	garama
17. flesh	hama	37. fire	ka'ewa
18. fat (body)		38. to grill (food)	ka'ewa kaido'e
19. bone	to'a	39. ashes	wetata
20. (breast) milk	zizo	40. smoke	kokube

41.	stone	totona	68.	straight	boygera
42.	heavy	aramaini	69.	thick	kibite
43.	slippery	hehetaizi	70.	thin	hawa'ie
44.	one	ma'ara	71.	sharp	ageni
45.	two	uge	72.	blunt	turi'e
46.	three	aroi	73.	sun	kozai
47.	four	iziate	74.	day	
48.	five	zekepa ma'aza	75.	night	rine
49.	many	maromo	76.	moon	ehaino
50.	little	zazomo	77.	star	turuwi
51.	all	uta'o	78.	banana	hamimi
52.	earth; clay	kere'a	79.	garden	uwuri
53.	dust		80.	grass	
54.	road	aumi	81.	dry	huwa'aibi
55.	narrow	tokve	82.	to cut	keraza'aizo
56.	wide	mahe'a	83.	tree/wood	kemini
57.	mountain	uturo	84.	to split	
58.	cloud	baroma	85.	with	
59.	rain	amana'o	86.	branch	hinaka
60.	sky	erahi	87.	leaf	rona
61.	fog		88.	thorn	ti'aha
62.	wind	roworowoi	89.	fruit	kabua
63.	hot	hahe'a	90.	seed	u'uni
64.	cold	tigahagei	91.	rotten	miha'a
65.	thunder		92.	to stink	
66.	lightning		93.	jungle	aworo
67.	stick	tameti'i			

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